FOREIGN
BROADCAST
INFORMATION
SERVICE

Daily Report

Central Eurasia

FBIS-SOV-93-243
Tuesday
21 December 1993

Daily Report
Central Eurasia

FBIS-SOV-93-243 CONTENTS *21 December 1993*

12 DECEMBER RUSSIAN ELECTIONS

Preliminary Results

- Ryabov Briefs Yeltsin on Results, Parties' Standing *[ITAR-TASS]* ... 1
  - Final Results 'Unlikely' Before 25 Dec *[Moscow Radio]* ... 1
- Committee Details Official Results for St. Petersburg *[ITAR-TASS]* ... 1
- Voting Discrepancies in Moscow District Noted *[PRAVDA 18 Dec]* ... 1
- Kaliningrad Vote Shows 'Struggle' Between Reason, Emotion *[STRAZH BALTIKI 14 Dec]* ... 2
- ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA Publishes Constitution Vote Figures *[21 Dec]* ... 2
  - Yeltsin Aide: Constitution Not Yet in Force *[ITAR-TASS]* ... 3

Official Reaction

- Yeltsin To Discuss Results at 22 Dec News Conference *[INTERFAX]* ... 3
  - Sees Zhirinovskiy as 'Protest Against Poverty' *[ITAR-TASS]* ... 3
- Yeltsin Aide, Zhirinvoskiy Hold 'Confidential' Conversation *[Moscow TV]* ... 4
- Omsk Administration Head Expects Balance in Duma *[ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI 21 Dec]* ... 4

Party, Other Reaction

- IZVESTIYA Profiles Zhirinovskiy 'Shadow Cabinet' *[18 Dec]* ... 4
  - Shadow Prime Minister on Party's Plans *[INTERFAX]* ... 5
  - Further Vengerovksiy Comments *[Budapest BESZELO 16 Dec]* ... 6
- Zyuganov on Chances for Cooperation With Zhirinovskiy *[ITAR-TASS]* ... 8
- Agrarian Party Outlines Program, Plans *[IZVESTIYA 18 Dec]* ... 8
- Russia's Choice Ponders Options Before 27 Dec Meeting *[IZVESTIYA 18 Dec* ... 9
- Chubays Says LDPR Victory 'Based on Lies' *[ITAR-TASS]* ... 10
- Yavlinskiy Views Reasons for Zhirinovskiy's Success *[Munich FOCUS 20 Dec]* ... 10
- 'Democratic Organizations' Urge 'Enlightened Authoritianism' *[ITAR-TASS]* ... 11
- Former Deputy Sees Need for Presidential Rule *[NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA 21 Dec]* ... 12
- Zhirinovskiy Win Sparks Finnish Political 'Explosion' *[ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA 21 Dec]* ... 12
- Japanese Observers Report No Irregularities, See Flaws *[ITAR-TASS]* ... 13

Media Analysis, Commentary

- Foreign Reports on Army Voting Seen as 'Hasty' *[ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA 18 Dec]* ... 13
  - More on Army Voting Patterns *[SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA 21 Dec]* ... 14
- KRASNAYA ZVEZDA Hails Praise for Election Objectivity *[18 Dec]* ... 15
- Factors in Zhirinovskiy Showing Analyzed *[ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA 18 Dec]* ... 16
- Zhirinovskiy Activities as Jewish Activist Noted *[IZVESTIYA 18 Dec]* ... 17
- Latsis: Democrats Must Learn To Combat 'Charlatanism' *[IZVESTIYA 17 Dec]* ... 17
- Efforts To Woo Communists Into Coalition Viewed *[PRAVDA 18 Dec]* ... 19
- Elections Show Widening Differences in Country *[SEGODNYA 21 Dec]* ... 20
- Khabarovsk Radio Commentary Sees 'Results We Deserved' ... 20

RUSSIA INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

- U.S.-Russian Seminar Views Conversion Problems *[ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA 21 Dec]* ... 22
- Koptev on U.S.-Russian Space Cooperation Accord *[ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI 18 Dec]* ... 22
- No U.S. Plans To Mediate Russian-Japanese Dispute *[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 18 Dec]* ... 22
- Russia 'Will Support' Sanctions Against DPRK *[INTERFAX]* ... 22
- MiG Deal With Malaysia Depends on Stability *[Russian TV]* ... 22
  - Mahathir on MiG Deal *[KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA 18 Dec]* ... 23

- Navy Seeking Permission To Unload Waste *[ITAR-TASS]* 24
- 'Frenzied Nationalism' in Ukraine Deplored *[ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA 18 Dec]* 24
- 'Anti-Russian Hysteria' in Romania Deplored *[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 21 Dec]* 25
- Russians Concerned Over Kazakh Policies *[Russian TV]* 25
- Soskovets on Russia Not Releasing Baykonur Cosmodrome *[ITAR-TASS]* 25
  - Space Agency Head Views Baykonur Funding *[Moscow TV]* 26
- 92 'Mercenaries' Depart for Baku *[Radio Rossii]* 26
- Latvian Talks Reportedly Postponed Until Jan *[Moscow International]* 26
- Glazyev Calls For Foreign Policy Changes Toward CIS *[INTERFAX]* 26
- Ministry Official on Troop Withdrawal From Baltics *[INTERFAX]* 27
- Progress Noted in Troop Withdrawal From Germany *[Moscow Radio]* 27
- Kozyrev Assures Mock of Continued Reform Course *[Vienna TV]* 27
- More on New Initiative for Bosnia, Yugoslavia *[IZVESTIYA 20 Dec]* 28
- PFLP's Habash on Opposition to Peace Accords *[PRAVDA 21 Dec]* 28

RUSSIA NATIONAL AFFAIRS

Political Issues

- Kostikov Denies Rumors of Sergey Filatov Dismissal *[Radio Rossii]* 30
  - Filatov To Prepare Parliament Session *[ITAR-TASS]* 30
- Sacked Presidential Aide Kotenkov Gets New Appointment *[ITAR-TASS]* 30
- Yeltsin Allegedly To Make Yakovlev Radio, TV Chief *[ITAR-TASS]* 30
- TV Chief Ousted for Professional, Political Faults *[ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI 21 Dec]* 30
- Further Firings, Shakeup at Ostankino Predicted *[KOMMERSANT-DAILY 21 Dec]* 31
- Yeltsin May Form Three New Media Bodies *[ITAR-TASS]* 31
- Yeltsin Aide Explains Staff Reshuffle *[ITAR-TASS]* 31
- Paper Views Staff Reshuffles; More Predicted *[KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA 18 Dec]* 32
- Reshuffle Could Have 'Destabilizing' Effect *[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 21 Dec]* 32
- Post-Election Kremlin Infighting Seen as 'Micro-Coup' *[SEGODNYA 21 Dec]* 33
- Yeltsin Signs More Edicts, Decrees 34
  - On Central Electoral Commission *[Moscow TV]* 34
  - Details of Edict *[ITAR-TASS]* 34
  - On Military Regulations *[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 18 Dec]* 34
  - On Far North Regions *[Radio Rossii]* 35
  - On Job Priority *[IZVESTIYA 18 Dec]* 35

Economic Issues

- Fedorov Optimistic About Economic Prospects *[ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI 18 Dec]* 35
  - Comments on Reformers *[IZVESTIYA 21 Dec]* 36
- Chernomyrdin Signs Resolution on Economic Reforms *[INTERFAX]* 36
  - Instructs Deputies To 'Finalize Plans' *[Moscow TV]* 37
  - Further on Instruction *[Radio Rossii]* 37
  - Soskovets, Gaydar Tasked *[Moscow International]* 37
- Council of Ministers Discusses Privatization *[ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA 18 Dec]* 37
- Businessmen Debate Draft Edict on Corporate Taxation *[ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA 18 Dec]* 38
- Unused Credit To Pay Some Debts to Gas Suppliers *[IZVESTIYA 21 Dec]* 38

Military & Space Issues

- Defense Ministry Collegium Discusses Nuclear, CW Issues *[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 18 Dec]* 39
- Need for Funds To Update 'Nuclear Shield' Noted *[ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA 21 Dec]* 39
- SU-25 Military Aircraft Crashes Near Krasnodar *[ITAR-TASS]* 40
- Staff Officer on 'Shame' of October Events *[SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA 18 Dec]* 40
- Cosmonauts Conduct Experiments Aboard Mir Space Station *[ITAR-TASS]* 43
- Replacement Mir Crews Undergoing Flight Training *[Russian TV]* 43

Regional Affairs

- St. Petersburg 'Antifascist' Resistance Movement Formed *[IZVESTIYA 21 Dec]* 43

Low Tatarstan Election Turnout Attributed to Constitution *[ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI 21 Dec]* 44
Khakass Parliament Cancels Elections, Prolongs Powers *[ITAR-TASS]* 44
Karelian Election Results Seen as Contradictory *[PRAVDA 18 Dec]* 44
Yeltsin Signs Edict on Kaliningrad Oblast Status *[SVOBODNAYA ZONA 9 Dec]* 45
  Head of Administration Comments *[KALININGRADSKAYA PRAVDA 10 Dec]* 45
  Editor Endorses Edict *[SVOBODNAYA ZONA 11 Dec]* 46
Belgograd Introduces Moscow-Type Visitor Controls *[ITAR-TASS]* 47

UKRAINE

International Affairs

Kravchuk: Yeltsin Remarks To Have No Effect on Accords *[INTERFAX]* 48
Government To Dismantle SS-24 Nuclear Missiles *[AFP]* 48
  Shmarov on Missile Deactivation *[UNIAN]* 48
  Deputy on Aid From Russia, U.S. *[AFP]* 49
Official Assesses Human Rights Violations, Compliance *[KIEVSKIYE VEDOMOSTI 10 Dec]* 50
Consulate General Opened in Belgrade *[URYADOVYY KURYER 18 Dec]* 51

National Affairs

Crimean Supreme Council Chairman Meets Fleet Officers *[HOLOS UKRAYINY 18 Dec]* 51
Officers' Union Conference Appeals to Defense Minister *[MOLOD UKRAYINY 17 Dec]* 51
Government Approves National Program on Drug Abuse *[UNIAN]* 52
Party Comments on Possible Introduction of Hryvnya *[HOLOS UKRAYINY 16 Dec]* 52
New VOST Leadership To Join Election Campaign *[UNIAR]* 52
Statistics on Minorities Reviewed *[RATUSHA 11 Dec]* 53
Prospective Mineral Wealth Assessed *[URYADOVYY KURYER 16 Dec]* 53

WESTERN REGION

Belarus

Shushkevich Said Hospitalized 20 Dec *[BELAPAN]* 56
Foreign Policy Adviser Tsepkalo on Priorities *[RESPUBLIKA 14 Dec]* 56
Goals of Team for KGB Reorganization Discussed *[ZVYAZDA 14 Dec]* 57
Germany's 'Commerzbank' Opens Branch in Minsk *[Duesseldorf HANDELSBLATT 21 Dec]* 58

Moldova

Snegur, Gagauz Leaders Discuss Issues *[Bucharest Radio]* 58
Russia's 14th Army Mining Dumps To Deter Raids *[ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI 18 Dec]* 59

CENTRAL ASIA

Kazakhstan

President Negotiates Loan With IMF Director *[INTERFAX]* 60

Tajikistan

Russian Border Post Attacked by Opposition Fighters *[Radio Rossii]* 60
Rakhmanov on Economic Crisis, Talks With Rabbani *[KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA 21 Dec]* .. 60
Rakhmanov-Rabbani Talks in Dushanbe Reviewed *[IZVESTIYA 21 Dec]* 61
Iranian Diplomat Reviews Living Conditions *[Tehran RESALAT 9 Dec]* 61

Turkmenistan

Niyazov on Forthcoming CIS Summit, Yeltsin Visit *[ITAR-TASS]* 62

CAUCASUS

Armenia

- Azerbaijan Said Intensifying Activity on Karabakh Front 64
  - Shelling, Air Raids Reported *[SNARK]* 64
  - Tension, Clashes at Front *[Yerevan Radio]* 64
- AES Not To Reopen 'For At Least Another Year' *[Moscow TV]* 64

Azerbaijan

- Aliyev Signs Paris Charter After Mitterrand Talks *[ITAR-TASS]* 65
- Presidential Staff Member Promotes Regional Security *[INTERFAX]* 66

Georgia

- Decree Calls For Wheat Imports From Kazakhstan *[Tbilisi Radio]* 66
- Shevardnadze, Mestia Officials Discuss Situation *[Tbilisi Radio]* 66
- Shevardnadze Weekly Interview 20 Dec *[Tbilisi Radio]* 67
- Benelux Trade Representation Opened in Antwerp *[Tbilisi Radio]* 71

BALTIC STATES

Estonia

- Moscow Only Consulate To Issue Visas *[Tallinn Radio]* 72
- New Minister Says 'Rapid Changes' 'Impossible' *[ETA NEWS BULLETIN]* 72
- Assembly Meeting on Retired Military Canceled *[ETA NEWS BULLETIN]* 72

Latvia

- Parliament Speaker Discusses Visit to France *[Riga Radio]* 72
- Popular Front Stresses National Survival *[BNS]* 73

Lithuania

- Political Issues Viewed by Landsbergis, Jursenas *[Vilnius Radio]* 73
  - Further on Landsbergis' Comments *[Vilnius Radio]* 74
- Ministry's Stand on Russian Policies Criticized *[RESPUBLIKA 3 Dec]* 74
- Poll on Baltic Presidents Favors Ulmanis *[BNS]* 75
- German Firm To Supply Nuclear Containers *[ELTA NEWS BULLETIN]* 75
- Vilnius Radio Foreign Broadcasts To Cease 30 Dec *[Vilnius Radio]* 75

Preliminary Results

Ryabov Briefs Yeltsin on Results, Parties' Standing

LD2012210393 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 2039 GMT 20 Dec 93

[Text] Moscow December 20 TASS—Russia's Central Electoral Commission head Nikolay Ryabov met with Russian President Boris Yeltsin in Moscow on Monday [20 December] to inform him about the results of the voting in the parliamentary elections and the nationwide referendum on the draft constitution held on December 12.

The Liberal Democratic Party of Vladimir Zhirinovskiy continues to lead elections to the State Duma, the lower house of the new Russian parliament, after preliminary results were specified in 214 out of 225 constituencies on Monday, but the gap separating it from Russia's Choice has slightly narrowed.

Zhirinovskiy's party has secured 23.2 per cent of votes compared to 23.21 per cent on Sunday, according to the Central Electoral Commission.

Russia's Choice comes second with 15.74 per cent compared to 15.63 on Sunday.

Communists are third with 11.89 per cent compared to 11.95 on Sunday.

The Agrarian Party lost one per cent and its figure now comprises 7.91.

The Yabloko bloc of Grigoriy Yavlinskiy had 8.14 per cent on Sunday, but the figure decreased to 7.76 on Monday.

The Russian Movement of Democratic Reforms is far from getting the necessary number of votes to overcome the five per cent hurdle. Its Monday figure was 4.1 per cent.

Member of the Central Electoral Commission Anastasia Tur told TASS that the protocols provided by 224 regional electoral commissions and almost 95,000 district electoral commissions have yet to be analysed. She added that the results of the voting in the remaining constituencies would hardly change the situation considerably.

A total of 32,937,630 voters or 58.4 per cent of the turnout voted to adopt the new post-Soviet Russian constitution during the December 12 referendum, 23,431,333 people or 41.6 per cent voted against it, according to the final results made public on Monday.

The commission said that 58,187,755 eligible voters or 54.8 per cent of the Russian electorate participated in the referendum.

The commission also said that 170 people were elected to the Federation Council, the upper chamber of the new Russian parliament, in 86 out of 89 two-seat constituencies. In two constituencies (the Moscow region and Yamalo-Nenets area) only one candidate was elected. In three constituencies (in Tatarstan, Chelyabinsk and the Chechen republic) elections to the Federation Council were not held.

Final Results 'Unlikely' Before 25 Dec

LD2112115493 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1130 GMT 21 Dec 93

[Text] The final results of the elections to the new parliament are unlikely to be announced before Saturday [25 December]. RIA was told this by the press service of the Central Electoral Commission. A working meeting between Nikolay Ryabov, the chairman of the Central Electoral Commission, and representatives of the blocs and parties elected to Russia's Federal Assembly is planned for Saturday.

Committee Details Official Results for St. Petersburg

LD2012181293 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1740 GMT 20 Dec 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Lyudmila Fomicheva]

[Text] St. Petersburg, 20 Dec—The constituency electoral commission for St. Petersburg constituency no. 78 today summed up the official results of the voting for the elections to the Federation Council of the Russian Federal Assembly and on the new draft constitution.

Some 53.07 percent of the St.Petersburg electorate turned out at the polling stations. Of these 71.61 per cent voted in favor of the new constitution and 551,472 voters voted against the draft basic law.

Yuriy Boldyrev and Aleksandr Belyayev have been declared elected deputies of the Federation Council of the Russian Federal Assembly. Five parties and blocs surmounted the 5 percent barrier: "Russia's Choice" won 26.25 percent; the "Yavlinskiy-Boldyrev-Lukin" bloc 20.34 percent; the Liberal Democratic Party of Russia 17.43 percent; the Russian Movement for Democratic Reforms 8.66 percent; and finally the Russian Communist Party 7.43 percent. The "Women of Russia" political movement just failed to surmount the 5 percent barrier, scoring 4.86 percent.

Voting Discrepancies in Moscow District Noted

PM2012143193 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 18 Dec 93 p 2

["Own Information" report: "The Longer Time Goes On, the More Violations There Are"]

[Text] A group of candidate deputies to the State Duma has sent a statement to the chairman of the Central Electoral Commission. It details, alas, cases of violations in Moscow City's No. 194 Kashirskiy District.

It all started when the number of registered voters was called out twice, but with a difference of almost 160,000 people! The number of voting papers issued in the district during voting for the draft constitution exceeded the number of voting papers issued for the elections to the State Duma according to party lists by 102,715, the figure for the single-seat district being 81,354....

There are up to another 10 violations in this district.

Kaliningrad Vote Shows 'Struggle' Between Reason, Emotion

WS2012154493 Kaliningrad STRAZH BALTIKI in Russian 14 Dec 93 p 1

[Report by A. Lobskiy: "The Elections Have Been Held and the Choice Made"]

[Text] The most important event in our postcommunist history has already taken place. One can be absolutely sure that the new constitution has won a vote of confidence, contrary to many skeptics arguing that people will not go to the voting stations. Preliminary estimates show that some 55 percent of the oblast's population participated in the elections, of which 60 percent voted in favor of the new constitution.

Democratic-oriented candidates for both chambers of the new legislature—V. Shumeyko, Yu. Matochkin, V. Nikitin (the lawyer), Yu. Voyevoda, O. Gordov—received overwhelming support, leaving their rivals way behind. Communist candidates were the least popular.

Yet, even the preliminary findings are striking by their contradictory nature. For example, while the majority of voters wanted to see V. Shumeyko, one of the most dedicated champions of democratic reforms and comprehensive economic transformation, in the Federation Council, it was the Liberal Democratic Party [LDPR] that took the first place according to the party-list ballots.

Closed electoral districts of the Baltic Fleet in Bykhov, Belarus, and Liyepaya, Latvia, had an astonishing 99.1-percent turnout. Not only regular servicemen, but also officers and warrant officers as well as their families, workers of the fleet-assigned enterprises, and military pensioners appeared at the polling stations. Of them, 56 percent supported the draft constitution and 23.4 percent backed V. Shumeyko. This all comes against the backdrop of 39 percent of those who gave their votes to the LDPR leader. Given all this, how can we ever believe a poet who once said that "you can't harness a horse and a doe to the same cart?"

As one officer from the fleet's general staff told our correspondent, the results perfectly mirror the state of mind of people who, against their will, found themselves in an alien country, without any rights, any perspectives and possibilities to settle with their families in Russia. So it is natural that someone who hits his fist on the table, whether necessary or not, demanding protection of their interests, earns their sympathy. At the same time, people understand that there is no turning back and that only democratic transformations can deliver the country out of the political crisis.

As a matter of fact, this struggle between reason and emotion was not unique to Russian citizens outside Russia. Even though in Baltiysk, 66 percent of voters supported the new constitution, 43.9 percent V. Shumeyko, 33 percent Yu. Matochkin, and 24 percent Yu. Voyevoda, the LDPR won here with its 26 percent of the votes, outstripping the 16 percent collected by the runner-up "Russia's Choice."

The fact that 136 observers were assigned to "Russia's Choice" alone is a proof that the election results will be very difficult to forge. This opinion is also shared by Dr. Elke Leonarod, Bundestag speaker and international observer, who highly praised elections in our oblast. "I visited 11 electoral districts," she said, "and everywhere the whole procedure was monitored by representatives of different parties and movements."

Although the election's outcome has not been fully processed so far, one can already speak about an established pattern. And it not only that Zhirinovskiy promised cheap vodka. The most bewildering thing is that even his "Prussia for Germany, and Alaska for Russia" had no influence on the position of Kaliningrad residents.

The explanation may be the outraged national dignity of Russians. The Baltics, Caucasian countries, Tajikistan—these are not only our sore places. Everything that is happening there provides kindling for nationalistic feelings and fascist sentiments.

But one should not fall into desperation. I believe that the proximity of this danger will shake the entire country. Besides, leaders of foreign and CIS countries will finally realize one thing: if they don't want to go along with the polite requests of the present government regarding the troop withdrawal and the approach to the Russian-speaking population, they will have to obey ultimatums of other governments.

The elections have been held and the choice made—if not the completely correct one. But we have time to put right our mistakes. A key task now is to continue reforms, which will be secured by the Russian constitution approved by the people.

ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA Publishes Constitution Vote Figures

PM2112084593 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 21 Dec 93 First Edition p 1

[Unattributed report under the general headline: "In the Central Electoral Commission"]

[Text] Yesterday the Russian Federation Central Electoral Commission signed a decree on the results of the nationwide voting on the draft Russian Federation constitution. Some

32,937,630 voters or 58.4 percent of voters who took part in the voting voted for the adoption of the constitution, the decree says. Some 23,431,333 voters or 41.6 percent of voters who took part in the voting voted against the adoption of the fundamental law.

On the basis of the Central Electoral Commission protocol of 20 December on the results of the nationwide voting, the commission decreed that "the nationwide voting on 12 December 1993 on the draft constitution is declared valid." It was declared that the constitution has been adopted by nationwide voting. It has been decided to send its text for official publication in the mass media and for publication in a mass print run by the "Yuridicheskaya Literatura" [Juridical Literature] publishing house.

On the basis of district electoral commission returns the Central Electoral Commission has determined that 58,187,755 or 54.8 percent of registered voters took part in the nationwide voting.

Yeltsin Aide: Constitution Not Yet in Force

LD2112102693 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1008 GMT 21 Dec 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Tamara Zamyatina]

[Text] Moscow December 21 TASS—The new Russian constitution has not yet come into force, presidential aide Yuriy Baturin told TASS on Tuesday [21 December] denying corresponding press reports.

He said that, according to the draft constitution, the new basic law comes into force from the moment of its official publication according to the results of the referendum.

The report of head of the Central Electoral Commission Nikolay Ryabov about the adoption of the constitution is only "information and not the official publication of the results of the vote," he explained.

Official Reaction

Yeltsin To Discuss Results at 22 Dec News Conference

LD2012190393 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1806 GMT 20 Dec 93

[From the "Presidential Bulletin" feature: by reporters Andrey Pershin, Andrey Petrovsky, and Vladimir Shishlin, edited by Boris Grishchenko]

[Text] President Yeltsin will give a news conference at the presidential press center at 15:00 on Wednesday, December 22. According to INTERFAX information, he will comment in detail on the results of the elections and referendum in Russia on December 12. He will also speak about the further functioning and formation of Russia's government in view of the balance of forces in the new parliament.

As is known, leaders of several political forces, who have secured many seats in the State Duma - the Federal Assembly's Lower House - are insisting on either a reshuffling in Chernomyrdin's current cabinet or on replacing it with a coalition government.

There has been no reaction to these calls from Yeltsin so far. Meanwhile, in an interview with INTERFAX, political analyst Andranik Migranyan, a Presidential Council member, has spoken out against a coalition cabinet.

He declared that the latest government reshuffling and the changes that might follow have been imposed by some officials other than the leaders of the Russia's Choice bloc. In his words, after the announcement of preliminary results of the elections to the Federal Assembly, "Russia's Choice" stands no real chance to dictate to the president.

"If Russia's Choice had scored a landslide election victory, it could have pressured the president for individual or structural changes," Migranyan remarked.

The Federal Assembly, in his opinion, is not the central problem since its current composition is "much better for the executive branch than the make-up of Russia's Supreme Soviet."

Migranyan views as an alternative to a coalition government "a reinforced executive branch that could work with the Federal Assembly constructively."

In his words, there will be nothing more important for the president than to consolidate the executive office. "If the government is split into three camps (Russia's Choice, the Agrarian Party, and the Party of Russian Unity and Concord), the presidential administration will disintegrate, too. Such an executive branch will be unworkable since it will be concerned with its political future in a post-Yeltsin period."

The Head of the President's Analytical Center for Social and Economic Policy, Petr Filipov, believes that not only a number of ministers but some vice premiers like Aleksandr Zaveryukha should be dropped from the cabinet. He predicted in an interview with INTERFAX that regardless of the election outcome, the government would keep its course intact at least until the next presidential elections. He recalled that the new Constitution entitled parliament to adopt new laws but empowered the president with the right of a veto.

Sees Zhirinovskiy as 'Protest Against Poverty'

LD2112100293 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0949 GMT 21 Dec 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Gennadiy Talalayev]

[Text] Moscow December 21 TASS—Russian President Boris Yeltsin believes the people's vote for nationalist leader Vladimir Zhirinovskiy was a protest against poverty.

"There are many poor people. It were they who voted for the Liberal Democratic Party. They voted not for its leader, (or) the programme, but in protest against poverty," Yeltsin said on Tuesday [21 December] while visiting the exhibition "what Moscow will be like in future."

The president urged Moscow authorities not to forget about poor people while implementing the housing construction programme.

Moscow Mayor Yuriy Luzhkov congratulated the president with the adoption of the first post-Soviet constitution adding that this was a sign of popular support to the president and to the reform course.

He praised Yeltsin for his contribution to the housing construction industry in Moscow when he was the communist leader of the Russian capital.

"By the 850th anniversary of Moscow (in 1997) we shall create such a centre (of the city) of which we would not be ashamed to show to anyone who arrives in the capital," the mayor promised.

Yeltsin Aide, Zhirinvoskiy Hold 'Confidential' Conversation

LD2112134093 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 1200 GMT 21 Dec 93

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] INTERFAX has learned that Vladimir Zhirinovskiy, leader of the Liberal Democratic Party, had a confidential 90-minute conversation late on Monday [20 December] evening with Nikolay Medvedev, head of a directorate of the presidential administration.

Medvedev confirmed that the meeting had taken place but refused to divulge details of the conversation.

INTERFAX has learned from sources within Zhirinovskiy's secretariat that the political lineup in the new parliament and in the structures of the State Duma were under discussion.

Omsk Administration Head Expects Balance in Duma

PM2112105593 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 21 Dec 93 p 1

[Article by Federation Council Deputy Leonid Polezhayev, head of Omsk Oblast administration: "There Will Be More Sensible People in Duma, Federation Council Deputy and Omsk Oblast Administration Head Thinks"]

[Text] The results of the elections a week ago are still providing a wealth of material for analysis. Take just their regional aspect, which so far few people seem to have thought about. Meanwhile for the third election in a row each region has been acquiring an increasingly distinct political and socioeconomic aspect. In Siberia it is by no means the same as in the center, and in the North Caucasus it is different from anywhere in the Urals. This is due to many factors—concrete political sympathies, the state of the economy, the qualitative composition of the leaders.

Back at the very start of the electoral sprint I publicly voiced the possibly seditious idea for these times that under the "Russia's Choice" banner at regional legal there were extremely dubious leaders and politicians who do not enjoy any appreciable prestige and who may discredit the movement in the eyes of the population. Regrettably, the election results only confirmed these misgivings. What, one wonders, did the democrats hope for in making an obvious tactical miscalculation and organizing a real melee in the world-renowned electoral district No. 130, where S. Baburin was running?

But there is hardly a country where the parliament would be a gift for the executive. I therefore by no means share the popular idea that fascism has triumphed in our country. The assumption must be that the incipient process of creating new blocs will bring about a balance between the forces of the democratic movements and the opposition. I hope that there will be more sensible people in the State Duma than orthodox politicians.

Moreover, one must not forget that half of the administration heads have become members of the Federation Council. And they know what they want. An upper parliamentary chamber capable of taking a sober, tough stance and the potential of the new constitution will be reliable barriers if anyone wants to change the strategy for reform.

Party, Other Reaction

IZVESTIYA Profiles Zhirinovskiy 'Shadow Cabinet'

PM2012171193 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 18 Dec 93 First Edition p 4

[Aleksandra Lugovskaya report under the general heading "Rivals Prepare for Meeting in Parliament: IZVESTIYA Correspondents Report from the Headquarters of the Leading Party Blocs": "Get To Know Them—the 'Liberal Democrat' Shadow Team"]

[Text] Unlike its noisy leader, the shadow cabinet of the Liberal Democratic Party of Russia [LDPR]—which, following its election victory, is prepared to become the party of government either partially or wholly—was unknown until recently. Now there is a direct reason to get to know them—all the more so as the future "ministers" are making no secret of their ambitions and are stating as vocally as their leader: "Enough. The myth of

Zhirinovskiy as a one-man band is over—he has the party's higher political council and a whole team of intellectuals behind him."

There are 40 of these people in the shadow cabinet, who modestly call themselves a group of experts under the LDPR leader.

The 40-year-old A. Vengerovskiy, whom the party has already nominated for Russian premier, is vice premier in the shadow cabinet and heads the "Russian intelligence service." A Muscovite, he was born into a family of doctors and is a radio engineer and a graduate of the MAI [expansion unknown]. He served in the space troops (Golitsino-2) at the Intelligence-Gathering Satellite Control Center. His most recent administrative post was as chief of the software administration at the State Committee for Computer Technology and Information Science. V. Zhirinovskiy "amazes and delights" him as a subtle, world-class politician whose image "is changing dynamically," not without the participation of the higher political council "which understands what needs to be done when."

In the absence of the boss—V. Zhirinovskiy has taken a breather—it is in his office that we are chatting. In a "place of honor" ["krasnyy ugol"] are the flag standards—the black, yellow, and blue Russian flag, and the LDPR's flag with its inoffensive yellow sun over the crests of waves. On the walls are portraits of Russian military leaders—from Suvorov to Ushakov. And an icon of the Blessed Virgin hangs forgotten in a corner over the entrance.

S. Zhebrovskiy, whom the LDPR is nominating for minister of the economy in the Russian Government, is a physicist who has taught in higher educational establishments and gained a postgraduate qualification from the Moscow Institute of the Petrochemical and Gas Industry. He worked for several years as science editor at the "Sovetskaya Entsiklopediya" and "Mir" Publishing Houses. Moving to the LDP apparatus, he set up its organizations around the country and drew up the party's economic strategy. He is 51.

V. Lymar, shadow science and technology minister, will not be in parliament, but will continue to be an expert in the sphere of the military-industrial complex. A physicist and candidate of technical sciences, he is a specialist in laser gyroscopes, which are used in rocket control systems.

We were unable to make our acquaintance with S. Abeltsev, the national security "minister." It was said that, although he is a former officer, he did not work in the KGB. He now heads a major agricultural joint-stock company in the Moscow region and is planning to open a whole network of roadside snack bars for travelers. Abeltsev himself refused to provide any brief information about himself over the telephone—he was brusque and even rude. And the defense minister turned out to be a "classified" figure. It is known only that he is a colonel, recently discharged from the Western Group of Forces in Germany.

Speaking about the elections, A. Vengerovskiy gave this advice: "Morals reflect the times." On the subject of the LDPR's political slogans and the statements by Zhirinovskiy which have struck fear into the world, he said: "There is no other form of transferring to a coalition government on a multiparty basis according to the terms of the game imposed by certain forces on the territory of the former USSR. Alas."

But whatever the form, military or civilized and civilian, in which the Zhirinovskiy team has entered parliament, one thing is clear: Unless the spread of fascism is stopped, unless Russian society blocks the monstrous ideas deriving from the "stern liberals," it will be the Russian soldier who is sent to limber up in a "final dash for the south." But is it not the case that he will return from there, as has already happened, in a zinc coffin?

Shadow Prime Minister on Party's Plans

LD2012163393 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1452 GMT 20 Dec 93

[Text] A member of the Russian Liberal Democratic Party, Aleksandr Vengerovskiy, who is called by the Liberal Democrats the prime minister in Vladimir Zhirinovskiy's "shadow Cabinet," is sure that the results of the elections to the Federal Assembly have been falsified. He said that in reality the Liberal Democrats have collected over 50 percent of votes. However, said Vengerovskiy in an interview with INTERFAX, the party will not appeal the results and will be satisfied with the number of seats in Parliament which the Party will receive in line with the official figures.

At this stage, said Vengerovskiy, the Party will not see as its task to have its members occupy key posts in the government. But it will demand the resignation of Gaydar, Kozyrev, and Chubays. The party is satisfied with Viktor Chernomyrdin occupying the post of prime minister.

The new Russian Constitution, he said, fully suits the Liberal Democrats, excluding the provision on the national-territorial division of Russia. The Party believes that in the near future it is necessary to return to the country's territorial-administrative structure.

The restoration of the Soviet Union within its former borders and with former methods are out of the question, although each of the former Soviet Republics may join the future state and purely economic methods must be used to urge a republic to do so. Vengerovskiy believes it would be fatal for the Russian economy to restore an economic union that would function within the Soviet Union or the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance.

In the sphere of foreign policy, the Liberal Democrats believe in an expedient transition from centuries-old East-West relations to more profitable and less tense North-South contacts. For this it is necessary to reach understandings with the leading powers on the division of the spheres of influence, said Vengerovskiy. However the Zhirinovskiy party, he said, stands for peaceful cooperation and relations of allies in Europe, particularly with Germany. Russia should review its priorities in Asia. Relationships with the Arab countries should be mutually advantageous on the basis of repayment of their debts to Russia, he said. Iraq, he noted, should be considered Russia's strategic partner in the south. Backing Iraq's policy for the reduction of U.S. influence in the eastern region the Liberal Democrats, however, are against calls to eliminate Israel, said Vengerovskiy.

Further Vengerovksiy Comments

AU2012180293 Budapest BESZELO in Hungarian 16 Dec 93 pp 19, 20, 21

[Interview with Aleksandr Vengerovskiy, deputy chairman of the Liberal Democratic Party of Russia, LPDR, by Ilona Kiss in Moscow; date not given: "People Are Itching To Take Up Arms"]

[Text] The fact that the fascist organization that calls itself Russia's Liberal Democratic Party far superseded the parties of democratic reform that were considered to have the greatest chance of success is the biggest sensation of the elections in Russia. According to the partial results on 14 December, they might even get as many as a quarter of the mandates in the State Duma. We interviewed Vengerovskiy, member of the five-man main council of Zhirinovskiy's party, at the party's headquarters, in a rundown inner-city block of flats. Spare leaflets replace proper floors in the undecorated offices; only the chairman's office is gleaming and spotless like a 19th century saloon. Short-haired young men in camouflage uniforms stand guard at the entrance: They do not carry firearms, only batons, one of them tells me. They are actually distributing the party's newspapers and leaflets, which sell these to strangers for 50 rubles, and Zhirinovskiy's infamous Hitlerist book (*The Push to the South*) costs 500 rubles. The chairman would give an interview for $500, but the barely 40, well-built, blond, and blue-eyed Vengerovskiy is happy to give an interview for free, especially since his name comes from the word Hungarian. Before the interview, he notes that he is expected to be the defense minister if his party is given a chance to form the government.

[Kiss] To what do you attribute the party's success?

[Vengerovskiy] We are a party of the strong and the healthy. People are fed up with shaky alcoholic leaders. Only our hands were not stained by blood during the events in October. Russia is shown with its original historical borders on our banner, with a falcon: This is the only bird that is not a scavenger. And the main point: People are itching to take up arms. We want to teach them the fighting spirit that I, for example, was given in the army: This is where we learned what the real tasks of a man are.

[Kiss] Why do you call your party liberal democratic, of all things? Your program does not have much to do with classical liberalism.

[Vengerovskiy] Liberalism has a particular aspect in Russia. Marx did not design Marxism the way it was implemented here either. As a student, Vladimir Volfovich (that is, Zhirinovskiy) was personally able to study the European democratic movements and he took a particular liking to liberal principles.

[Kiss] It was quite a privilege for a Soviet man to travel in the 1970's.

[Vengerovskiy] Vladimir Volfovich studied law, speaks several languages, and had a number of jobs that enabled him to go abroad, for example as a jurist of the Peace publishing house. Then he was a scientific adviser with well-known institutions like the Friendship Committee that was run together with other countries. His other qualification is in Oriental research: He spent a long time on a field trip in Turkey. Therefore, he had plenty of knowledge with which to make a party program.

[Kiss] Your party was registered within days after the infamous Paragraph 6 of the Soviet Constitution, which declared the sole rule of the Soviet Communist Party, was invalidated. How was it possible to do it so fast?

[Vengerovskiy] When the one-party system was abolished, some six or seven people were already together (I joined half a year later). The task for us was to establish the principle of the multiparty system in Soviet political life within a democratic framework.

[Kiss] Who gave you this task?

[Vengerovskiy] Not the KGB, if this is what you mean. However, it is certain that the Liberal Party is a laboratory for the practice that all organizations will later be forced to implement on a large scale in their own area.

[Kiss] Not a very encouraging perspective.... Zhirinovskiy has an undeniable power of attraction: When he is giving a speech, even people who are otherwise fed up with him stare at the television screen. It is said that he learned this from Kashpirovskiy who hypnotizes people through the television.

[Vengerovskiy] Nonsense, Kashpirovskiy is not even an LDPR member, and he is not a member of the shadow government that we will present when necessary; he is only a psychiatrist who spends most of the year abroad.

[Kiss] However, he is one of your list leaders.

[Vengerovskiy] I do not think that we really needed his knowledge during our campaign, and we did not use it anyway. Only certain people with dual Israeli and Russian citizenship broadcast this, like Khazanov, who takes the liberty to tell such jokes as Zhirinovskiy's criterion for party membership is that the applicant has kidney problems so that Kashpirovskiy will have someone to cure. We won through steadfast party-building work, rather than with hypnosis: One year ago, we had 60,000 members and, during the campaign, some 50 to 60 people were joining us each day. We do not require stamps or recommendations; the applicant can come here, fill in the statement, and that is all. We hold mass meetings in Sokolnyki Park every Saturday. Zhirinovskiy has been to all towns in Russia. He is the only one who knows how to handle people. At our festive campaign-closing event, we laid a wreath at the grave of the unknown soldier—how could we be a fascist party when we saluted at the eternal light to the memory of victory over fascism?

Naturally, it is easier for our opponents to call us a marginal fascist party that can simply be swept aside. However, we know what we want.

[Kiss] From which strata of society do your members come from?

[Vengerovskiy] All social groups are represented in the LDP. For example, I am deputy director at Russia's largest computer science research institute. Prior to this, I led the biggest Soviet computer science expert committee.

[Kiss] Do you have army officers and policemen?

[Vengerovskiy] Yes, a quarter of the membership. There are large-scale dismissals from the army. It is mainly the dismissed officers who come to us, because this is where they find the suitable political orientation. According to the current Russian law, they cannot form a separate party.

[Kiss] The day before the elections, the Ostankino television station showed a film on your party in which quasi-military and youth organizations were also mentioned at length.

[Vengerovskiy] This film is a typical deception for propaganda purposes made by the son of the Soviet film director Chukhray, but we had not been able to watch it before it was screened. A representative of the CSCE visited us today at our headquarters: We are starting court procedures.

We indeed have a youth organization. We do use means like combat sports to attract young people. When our organization was founded, the young people did ask to wear blue uniforms like in the air force, but they have not been wearing these for five months now.

[Kiss] Who supports you?

[Vengerovskiy] Industrialists who do not yet want to name themselves. In addition to having a state job, I also have some restaurants in Moscow: Rather than buying Mercedes cars, I finance party issues from the profits.

[Kiss] Foreign contacts?

[Vengerovskiy] We have very good relations with the German People's Union and with the Italians, and we received a cable of greetings from Le Pen. In other words, we are an organic part of the European right wing.

[Kiss] What about the Russian emigration?

[Vengerovskiy] Look, everyone knows how many people remained abroad, including secret service and intelligence members. Let me say this much: They will find us at the appropriate moment.

[Kiss] What are your relations with the Communists? Will you enter into a coalition with them if you are given the opportunity to form the government?

[Vengerovskiy] We do not have contact with Zyuganov. However, we do not exclude the possibility of cooperation: Now the Russian Communist Party has also occupied its rightful place in politics. I was a Party member. When it was dissolved, I put down my membership card and I realized that I could not progress together with so many traitors. The other members of our political leadership had not been Party members. We have many common principles. Both we and they support a strong state, the prevention of war, and patriotism.

[Kiss] Would you work together with the democrats?

[Vengerovskiy] Naturally. However, they will not have this. We offered our mediation as early as during the October crisis, but they did not take up the offer. Anyway, the whole democratic camp is panicking: Look at Gaydar or Yavlinskiy! They have not been able to agree up to now, but now Zhirinovskiy is here and they can form a united front against him. He is the enemy now. They will realize that we are stronger. Everyone forgets that, in October, it was Gaydar who called the defenseless people to demonstrate; during the 1991 coup, Yavlinskiy ran to arrest Interior Minister Pugo, but Pugo was honorable and shot himself in the head. All the current leaders who made their careers on the ruins of the Soviet Union had belonged to the highest party elite, but they all betrayed their party. They ransacked Russia and now we cannot even move. Yes, fat cats do not catch mice, as the Russian proverb has it.

[Kiss] It seems that the Zhirinovskiy party will be part of the new Russian Parliament. What are your plans?

[Vengerovskiy] The LDPR will not be a decoration on the building of the State Duma. We want to begin constructive work as soon as possible. We are willing to do anything; we do not reject any kind of coalition. However, all decisions are in the hands of the Russian president at the moment: According to the current Constitution, he even has the liberty not to ask anyone to form a new government. He postponed the elections to 1996 and satisfied himself with the formal acceptance of the constitution. However, a little more than half the electorate voted, and only half of them accepted it; therefore, only a quarter of the Russian people agree with it. However, we will not put up with this. We will start to implement our basic three program points immediately. Urgently launching the reform course is one of these, and redrawing the Constitution is another: From the public administration based on the principle of nationality, we want to return to division by areas. Foreign policy is the third area. The Russians have been humiliated long enough. We want people to realize that we also have our own economic and strategic interests.

[Kiss] In your program, you demand that rather than converting military industry factories to civilian production, rearming should be resumed.

[Vengerovskiy] A new world order is emerging, but we do not accept this. The old European geopolitical situation was based on the interests of the United States, NATO, and anti-Russian politics. Today, the big united Germany's interests and goals determine Central Europe: The Czech Republic and Hungary belong to this sphere. However, for this same reason, we also have to agree with the Germans. This will happen and there will not be a Russian-German war. We acknowledge that, as it is clear from the Balkans war, getting access to the warm sea is Germany's geopolitical interest. However, if everyone acknowledges this in the case of Germany, then Russia also has a right of access to the warm sea: We have to fight against the reviving Islam fundamentalism along our southern borders. Relations with Tatarstan are extremely tense. We are more agitated by this than by the future fate of the East European countries. Naturally, you will have problems because of the shortage of raw materials, gas, and electricity, but this is not our business anymore. You chose to be in Germany's sphere of interest, you should settle the issues with Germany.

[Kiss] In this case, we should not expect the new Russian Parliament to ratify the Hungarian-Russian state agreement that was rejected by Khasbulatov because, according to the clause, Russia should have apologized for 1956.

[Vengerovskiy] You know what? Let us separate for a while. You drove out Russian soldiers from your country: Through this, your national esteem has been satisfied for a while. Do not now want anything else from us. We will also leave you in peace. Do you remember the Krylov story? A small dog is barking at the elephant, thinking that it will get frightened, but the elephant does not even notice the dog. It is time for you to understand that we are not in the same category. We refuse to make any more concessions, but we do not want any more humiliation, either. Russia does not want to have any relations with the former socialist countries. They should agree with the Germans: The Czechs, Hungarians, and Poles have matters to settle with the Germans. Today's Russia has nothing to do with 1956; Russia does not accept responsibility for the deeds of the Soviet Union, it is not its legal successor. We are all infected. It is better not to worsen each other's problems.

Zyuganov on Chances for Cooperation With Zhirinovskiy

LD2112211893 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1110 GMT 21 Dec 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Lyudmila Aleksandrova]

[Text] Moscow December 21 TASS—The leader of Russian communists does not consider nationalist Vladimir Zhirinovskiy as fascist and does not rule out cooperation with him in parliament.

"Fascism is not the Russian way", Gennadiy Zyuganov told TASS on Tuesday [21 December] characterising the Liberal Democratic Party and adding that "there are many people (in the party) with who it is possible to cooperate".

"Communists are not closed for anyone" and are ready to join efforts with those who will together with them work for the territorial integrity of Russia, peace in the country and prosperity for each family, and not only for the elite", he siad.

Zyuganov criticised the creation of the Anti-Fascist Front in Russia which aims to oppose the upsurge of nationalist and fascist moods. "The creation of fronts can lead to a civil war while the major task now is to secure civil peace", he stressed.

The Communist Party of Russia will urge to change the course of economic reform and reshuffle the government, to restore state management of economy, according to Zyuganov who predicted mighty social upheavals in the country in case reforms continue in the current way.

"In the State Duma the Communist Party will mostly work to correct and change the economic course, create the government of national trust, restore the management of the country and, first and foremost, fight corruption", he said adding that the "main tactical method of communists is to work not against, but for something".

Zyuganov stressed that the "renewed Communist Party enjoyed a wide support of voters" in the recent elections by securing nearly a 12 per cent support.

Agrarian Party Outlines Program, Plans

PM2012165193 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 18 Dec 93 First Edition p 4

[Report by Yelena Yakovleva under the general heading "Rivals Prepare for Meeting in Parliament. IZVESTIYA Correspondents Report from the Headquarters of the Leading Party Blocs": "Agrarians Favor a Government of Professionals"]

[Text] All was quiet in one of the Agrarian Party of Russia's offices—Agriculture Ministry room No. 333. Early morning, and the only person there was the secretary in reception, and she was part-time anyway. In front of her were some wilting roses (the sign of a recent victory?) and high above her desk was a portrait of Lenin, which had probably migrated from the office to reception, and beneath it was a poster with a kitten on it saying: "Agrarian Party for the Federal Assembly!"

Party leader Mikhail Lapshin had gone off to his plot outside Moscow. Although someone was always there in the afternoon. Ivan Rybkin, party activist, former member of the Supreme Soviet, and teacher at the Volgograd Agricultural Institute, had just got back from the Legislative Initiatives Commission. The Agrarian Party had put forward there the idea of having committees on regional policy and local self-government, motherhood and childhood, science, and public education. There were also consultations among the winning parties. The Agrarians also had meetings with the Democratic Party of Russia and the Communists, but they stress that they are prepared to consult with practically anyone. But they make no secret of their political squeamishness with regard to the main winner at the elections—Zhirinovskiy and his party. Ivan Rybkin was shaken by the news that Zhirinovskiy, who is never off the screen, was given credit by the television stations for his appearances: They demanded that the Agrarian Party pay in advance for every minute.

The Agrarian Party's economic plans: The latest presidential edict on land needs to be made more specific and brought into line with world experience. "In the United States, the Netherlands, or Austria you cannot buy land just like that." Then the Agrarian Party intends to push through a law whereby every citizen of Russia, country or city dweller, will have the right to receive free of charge and own a small plot of land. Moreover, the Agrarian Party considers it a disgrace that peasants have not yet received land share certificates.

The Agrarian Party is opposed to the formation of the government along party lines: It wants to see a cabinet of professionals. And it is generally happy with the current agriculture minister and his deputies, as a good team.

Of course, the Agrarian Party intends to ensure that the "payments arteries do not get blocked" and the disparity between agricultural and industrial prices is not so great.

Russia's Choice Ponders Options Before 27 Dec Meeting

PM2012152193 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 18 Dec 93 First Edition p 4

[Mikhail Berger report under the general heading "Rivals Prepare for Meeting in Parliament: IZVESTIYA Correspondents Report from the Headquarters of the Leading Party Blocs": "'Russia's Choice' Calculates the Losses and Assesses the Possibilities"]

[Text] Unless the preliminary election results change drastically, the largest faction in the State Duma will be the "Russia's Choice" bloc. However, the mood at the bloc's headquarters is far from euphoric.

Aleksey Golovkov, the headquarters director, avoids using the word "defeat," but the fact that he says "we were expecting more" does not change the essential point. The occupants of and visitors to the Liberal-Conservative Policy Center, where "Russia's Choice" has its headquarters, are in full agreement about what happened in the elections. The consolation prize of being the "largest faction" does not change the arrangement of forces in the parliament, where the victorious Liberal Democratic Party of Russia [LDPR] together with the Communists and the Agrarian Party will control about 40 percent of the votes, according to preliminary figures.

So far there has been just one session of the "Russia's Choice" executive committee to discuss the election results, and it did not officially accept the verdict of "failure." Perhaps more precise assessments will be given at the faction's first session on 27 December. The inner tension perceptible in the atmosphere at the headquarters unofficially suggests how the bloc's representatives view the results of the voting. Fortunately no one here is talking seriously about the sinister impact of Anatoliy Kashpirovskiy's "hypnotic influence" on the voters.

What is the headquarters doing at present? A group of "Russia's Choice" members are getting the faction ready for the first session of the Duma. I have not managed to glean anything more detailed than that about what this preparation involves. It is proposed that at the 27 December session "Russia's Choice" will examine the principles whereby the faction will function, the standing orders of its work, and other organizational and technical questions.

The headquarters is also concerned with questions of party building, that is, the formation of "Russia's Choice's" own political movement, with a clear structure and developed regional organizations. Furthermore, Aleksey Golovkov regards this work as very important and urgent also because elections to the local organs of power are due next spring and "Russia's Choice" representatives will be competing for seats there.

As for the coalition of democratic factions in parliament, "Russia's Choice" leader Yegor Gaydar has already spoken in favor of such cooperation and has talked about his readiness to work with anyone apart from the fascists. However, official talks with other factions of a democratic orientation are not being held at the moment. For that the leaders must get the bloc's official mandate. At the moment "Russia's Choice" is holding preliminary consultations with the leaders of potential coalition partners.

All the blocs, including "Russia's Choice," are hoping to win over the independent candidates and the politically fairly neutral Women of Russia, at least on certain questions. The success or failure of individual blocs in this regard may substantially influence the arrangement of forces in the Duma.

But the main question is whether or not "Russia's Choice," "Yabloko," and the "Party of Russian Unity and Accord" will manage to agree on a stable coalition. The election differences and problems of the personal mutual relations among their leaders will not be resolved all that easily even when faced with such obviously antipathetic organizations as the LDPR and the Communist Party of the Russian Federation. To reach agreement perhaps it would make sense for Yegor Gaydar to concede the role of coalition leader to Grigoriy Yavlinskiy and concentrate on work in the government and in his own bloc? But one can only guess whether this would be acceptable to Gaydar and the bloc itself and whether Yavlinskiy would accept the terms, were they to be offered.

A somewhat surprising assessment of the election results was given by Mikhail Yuryev, chairman of the Russian Federation Government's Industry and Enterprise Council, head of the major company "Soyuzinterprom," and one of the country's most successful capitalists and market supporters. His assessment is also interesting because last year he cooperated quite actively with Gaydar's team but has nothing to do with the "Russia's Choice" bloc.

I asked what he would do if it were up to him to "shuffle the pack," that is, if he could arrange the representation of the blocs in the Duma as he would like it to be.

"My option," Yuryev replied, "would make no fundamental changes to the existing representation. I would not like a victory for 'Russia's Choice,' whose representatives failed to meet their commitments in implementing the reform. Victors are not judged nor losers excused. The government did not achieve any major successes either in the fight against inflation or in privatization. Why should I go on believing that their promises will ever be kept and how are they better than any other promises?"

The government, Yuryev believes, did not create any conditions for development or even simply for the normal working of the country's industry; it has done nothing to enable enterprises to gain access to credits. If West European governments impose restrictions on the granting of credits to Russian firms it is the duty of our authorities to hold talks with those governments and persuade them to lift those restrictions. But no one here has done or is doing that. Nor is anyone doing anything to attract foreign investments to Russia. However, one can talk for a long time about what the government is not doing. The appearance of such a number of Communists and Zhirinovskiy's Liberal Democrats among the future deputies is the last signal to the democratic establishment. There are not enough reds in the parliament to dictate their terms, and the democrats are not so few in number as to be incapable of pursuing their own policy. The only thing is that the policy itself must be considerably adjusted, which is what the election results indicate.

In Yuryev's opinion, it is time to stop gambling not only on people from the old nomenklatura but also on the old leaders of the new wave.

Chubays Says LDPR Victory 'Based on Lies'

LD2112123393 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1128 GMT 21 Dec 93

[Text] Moscow December 21 TASS—Russian deputy prime minister and member of the Russia's Choice Anatoliy Chubays said on Tuesday [21 December] that the pro-Yeltsin bloc will have 103 seats in the new Russian parliament while the Liberal Democratic Party [LDPR] of Vladimir Zhirinovskiy will get 66 seats.

Chubays did not explain whether he was speaking about the State Duma only or about both chambers of the parliament.

Addressing reporters he called to refrain from exaggerating the success of Zhirinovskiy. "The victory of the LDPR is based on lies, the aims and promises of the party are false", he said and linked the success of the party to "skillfully organised propaganda campaign".

But Chubays denied allegations that Russians had voted for fascism by supporting Zhirinovskiy. "The Russian people never voted and will never vote for fascism", he stressed.

Yavlinskiy Views Reasons for Zhirinovskiy's Success

AU2112104493 Munich FOCUS in German 20 Dec 93 p 166

[Interview with Gregoriy Yavlinskiy, head of the Yavlinskiy-Boldyrev-Lukin bloc, by unidentified correspondent; place and date not given: "Everything Depends on Yeltsin"]

[Text] [FOCUS] Is Yeltsin's new constitution a protective barrier against Zhirinovskiy and his LDPR [Liberal Democratic Party of Russia]?

[Yavlinskiy] Perhaps, provided that Yeltsin himself does not change now that he has the constitution. This is what I fear above all. In addition: If the LDPR remains strongly represented in parliament in the long run, this will certainly not be a good thing. What would Germany, for instance, think if Zhirinovskiy were to take the president's place?

[FOCUS] One fears the end of reforms, nationalism, and an aggressive foreign policy. Yeltsin is considered to be the guarantor of reforms....

[Yavlinskiy] The most important guarantee is a pluralistic political structure. The construct is stable only with a democratic opposition. However, if there is only Yeltsin and a constitution with which Yeltsin can do anything conceivable, then the construct is very instable and dangerous. Yeltsin has established all the preconditions for his opponents to try with all available means to take over his office.

[FOCUS] The whole world is shocked about Zhirinovskiy's rise. Aren't you?

[Yavlinskiy] This was not at all unexpected in view of the inflation and ambiguity of the government's policy. Policy is pursued here like a circus. Sometimes Yeltsin says one thing, then another. Sometimes something is implemented, then it is rescinded. They quarrel, accuse each other of corruption. Then the tanks against the White House....

[FOCUS] Why does this benefit Zhirinovskiy?

[Yavlinskiy] The nation is humiliated. Many things coincide here: the crumbling of the country and the Army, uncertainty of the borders, impoverization, lack of prospects, a feeling of constantly cheated expectations. One did not listen to the people but simply called them to the referendum to confirm one's own course. In many cases the Zhirinovskiy votes are a protest against that.

[FOCUS] Why is the democratic opposition so weak?

[Yavlinskiy] The ruling democrats think there cannot be any other democrats in the world apart from them. They are afraid of competition. They try to radicalize the political process and create a bipolar system in which there is only the government camp and an aggressive opposition.

[FOCUS] Is there an alternative to Yeltsin—apart from Zhirinovskiy?

[Yavlinskiy] Recently there was a popularity poll. I got 21 percent, Yeltsin 19, Gaydar 17, Zhirinovskiy 15, and Shakhray 11.

[FOCUS] But how are things going to unfold?

[Yavlinskiy] The new parliament will meet. Then we will see which position Yeltsin will adopt. One cannot rule out anything. There are various strategies. The first: Yeltsin supports the democratic wing. The second: Yeltsin pays no attention to parliament. The third: Yeltsin enters into an alliance with the LDPR, which guarantees no access for the Communists. This reminds me of Germany, of Hindenburg. Yeltsin is the key figure. Everything depends on his decisions.

[FOCUS] Is there the possibility of an anti-Zhirinovskiy coalition?

[Yavlinskiy] There should be a gathering of all forces to accelerate the reforms. This is already a question of common sense. Thus far, they have struggled so much against the communists that they have overlooked the entire rightist camp.

[FOCUS] Will Chernomyrdin remain prime minister, will the core of the Cabinet remain as is?

[Yavlinskiy] You ask me this when one cannot say anything with any certainty except: We are facing a very complicated, very conflict-laden situation. May God make it pass peacefully.

[FOCUS] Are the reforms at their end?

[Yavlinskiy] Russia is such a complicated construct. Here there is no beginning and no end.

'Democratic Organizations' Urge 'Enlightened Authoritianism'

LD2012165393 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1638 GMT 20 Dec 93

[by ITAR-TASS correspondent Lyudmila Aleksandrova]

[Text] Moscow December 20 TASS—Members of the Public Committee of Russia's Democratic Organisations have described the results of the December 12 parliamentary elections as a "complete defeat of democracy" in Russia.

They called on President Boris Yeltsin to establish authoritarian rule in the country.

Valeria Novodvorskaya, one of the leaders of the Democratic Union, said that elections should not have been held at all because Russia "is not ready for democracy" and "this Duma should not convene."

She urged to "stop any talks about democracy and pluralism" and "sanction the president for establishing enlightened authoritarianism." "There is a way to present all this nicely," she said referring to the provisions of the new constitution "banning communist and fascist parties." "Either enlightened authoritarianism or we face the rule of fascism and communism," Novodvorskaya warned.

Lev Ubozhko, leader of the Conservative Party, called for establishing "authoritarian rule based on democratic principles." He believes that the main foe of democrats is "not (Vladimir) Zhirinovskiy (leader of the ultra nationalist Liberal Democratic Party of Russia) but communists."

A representative of the People's Party of Russia suggested requesting the public prosecutor to institute legal proceedings against Zhirinovskiy in connection with his calls for violence, ethnic hatred and hooliganism with respect to party leader Telman Gdlyan.

Businessman Konstantin Borovoy, leader of the Economic Freedom Party, stressed that the main task of democratic forces is to set up a new democratic opposition, adding that his party could act as a coordinator.

The Public Committee of Russia's Democratic Organisations groups several dozen secondary political and public organisations of democratic orientation and is the mouthpiece of the most radical part of the Russian president's supporters.

Former Deputy Sees Need for Presidential Rule

MK2112104093 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 21 Dec 93 p 1

[RIA report under the "In Brief" rubric: "Yakunin for Presidential Rule"]

[Text] "In the present situation in Russia, it would probably be expedient to introduce direct presidential rule for realizing the reforms; and, over the next year and a half or so, if the country's economic situation improves, the democrats would have a chance to win parliamentary elections," stated Gleb Yakunin, a former people's deputy of the Russian Federation and candidate for the Duma. Regarding the prospects of parliamentary activities, the Duma, he thinks, will be "much more scandalous than the former Supreme Soviet." In this connection, Yakunin recalled an incident at the Seventh Congress of People's Deputies of Russia in December 1992 when a brawl broke out on the floor in the Kremlin. "I fear that such things," he said, "will be chronic." For the president, this may provide grounds to disband parliament in the near future.

Zhirinovskiy Win Sparks Finnish Political 'Explosion'

PM2112101193 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 21 Dec 93 First Edition p 6

[Sergey Pankratov report under "Distant Foreign Parts" rubric: "Chernobyl Syndrome in Finland. This Time Zhirinovskiy in the Role of the Exploded Reactor"]

[Text] Helsinki—It would be hard to name another event in Russia's political life in recent years which has caused such an acute and interested reaction in neighboring Finland as the recent parliamentary elections. The report that the Liberal Democratic Party of Russia of Russia [LDPR] gained a majority of seats in the State Duma has caused a real explosion of political passions here.

Even the presidential election in Finland itself, due 16 January, has been pushed into the background. The candidates do not feel like discussing domestic problems. The name "Zhirinovskiy" is being mentioned today in statements by all the country's leading politicians. Regardless of their party allegiance, the name of the LDPR leader has invariably been linked with questions of Suomi's future.

The Finns' heightened interest in the person of Zhirinovskiy is not accidental. The LDPR leader has never concealed the fact that he holds a special opinion on the future of Finland as an independent state. The chairman of the Russian Liberal Democrats first spoke out on the "Finnish question" back in 1991. People in Suomi still cannot forget his speech at the International Conference of Centrist and Liberal Parties, held in Helsinki, when Vladimir Volfovich declared that "independence for Finland is just a temporary phase."

"Zhirinovskiy has reminded us of the most terrible nightmares of our recent past"—this was how the Finnish newspaper ILTALEHTI reacted during those days to the LDPR leader's statements.

Of course, the LDPR's success in the parliamentary elections has plunged neighboring Finland into a state of shock. Local television has reported that some pensioners have started laying in food stocks, preparing for war.

It is, of course, possible to understand the sentiments of the older generation of Finns, who lived through the Winter War. Particularly if you recall that, this time as the winner of the parliamentary elections, Vladimir Volfovich repeated once again that he still intends to return Russia to the 1913 borders. As is known, during those years Finland was part of the Russian Empire with the rights of an autonomous principality.

Many people in Finland perceived such a statement as a direct threat to national security. Elisabeth Rehn, Finnish minister of defense and a presidential candidate, was the first to pick up the gauntlet thrown down by Zhirinovskiy. Right after the publication of the preliminary results she declared in an interview in the newspaper ILTA-SANOMAT that if Zhirinovskiy accedes to power, Finland will revise not only its present policy in the security sphere but also the whole package of Russian-Finnish relations. This statement sounded unusually harsh for the defense minister of a neutral state. The categorical tone so disconcerted the Finns themselves that another presidential candidate for the Finnish Christian League—Toimi Kankaanniemi—cautioned the defense minister against "possible confrontation on Finland's eastern borders."

Replying to a question from journalists about the reason for such unexpected harshness, the defense minister herself admitted that it is not just a matter of the LDPR leader's threatening statements on Finnish sovereignty. It turns out that there has long been a concealed hostility between Vladimir Volfovich and the Finnish "iron lady." Elisabeth Rehn reminded the correspondents of Zhirinovskiy's statement at that memorable conference to the effect that "a country where the defense minister is a woman cannot be considered independent."

Other representatives of the Finnish establishment have also been attacked by Mr. Zhirinovskiy in the past. Thus, Paavo Vayrynen, for example, while he was minister of foreign affairs, was recommended by Vladimir Volfovich to "meddle less in international affairs and concentrate his attention on domestic problems in the land of Santa Claus." Today the ex-minister is one of the leaders in the presidential election marathon. Assessing for voters the Russian parliamentary election results, he described them as further confirmation of the unstable situation inside the country. In his opinion, relations between the president and the new parliament will hardly be peaceful.

It has to be said that two other contenders for the presidency express themselves more optimistically. Thus, in the opinion of Martti Ahtisaari, candidate for the Social Democratic Party of Finland, Russia will continue to travel the path of reforms despite strong opposition to the government in the State Duma.

But what of official Helsinki? How has the government cabinet of Esko Aho reacted to Zhirinovskiy's victory? The same way as always, so it turns out, when the political situation in Russia has produced unexpected surprises. People here believe that the parliamentary election results do not provide grounds for revising the good-neighborly relations between our countries.

As regards the populist statements by LDPR leader Vladimir Zhirinovskiy, in the opinion of Foreign Minister Heikki Haavisto they are nothing more than tactical steps in the course of the election campaign. The head of the Finnish Foreign Ministry believes that, as a politician, Zhirinovskiy will be able to make a constructive assessment of the development of events in Russia and correctly build relations with neighboring countries.

Japanese Observers Report No Irregularities, See Flaws

LD2112092893 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0846 GMT 21 Dec 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Vasily Golovnin]

[Text] Tokyo December 21 TASS—Head of the group of Japanese observers at the Russian elections, parliamentary Deputy Foreign Minister Shiozo Azuma, told Japanese Prime Minister Morihiro Hosokawa that the voting in Russia proceeded without any irregularities. This is said in a report officially submitted to the head of the government on Tuesday [21 December].

At the same time it is noted in the report that there are quite a few flaws in the technical procedure of voting adopted in Russia. Correcting them should become the task for the future. Japanese observers, specifically, pointed to the insufficiently strict control over the identification of voters, and not tight enough observance of the secrecy of voting.

Presenting his report, Azuma also noted the success of extreme nationalist forces at the elections. The prime minister, however, refrained from commenting on the situation in Russia.

Media Analysis, Commentary

Foreign Reports on Army Voting Seen as 'Hasty'

PM2012155993 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 18 Dec 93 First Edition pp 1, 2

[Political observer Aleksandr Batygin article under the "Discussing Rumors" rubric: "Just Who Did the Army Vote For Anyway?"]

[Text] The Russian Armed Forces have expressed their attitude toward the elections to the Federal Assembly and the draft Constitution. As Yelena Agapova, public relations and press aide to the Russian defense minister, reported, some 95 percent of servicemen in the Armed Forces and members of their families participated in the elections and referendum, and 74 percent of military voters and their relatives said "yes" to the new basic law.

Whereas everything is clear as regards data on the results of the voting on the constitution (they have been officially announced), it has proved much more complex to find an answer to the question about the political parties and blocs for which the Army showed a preference. I managed to contact N. Ivanov, deputy chief of the Ministry of Defense Main Administration for Work with Personnel. Alas, I did not succeed in obtaining a clear answer from him either.

For its part, the Central Electoral Commission provided the following information: No special tally was kept of military voters, and what is more no one even thought about finding out for whom the commanders and men voted.

I did not succeed in finding out anything about the results—even the preliminary ones—of the voting in the country's Armed Forces, either from the omniscient ITAR-TASS tapes or from the pages of KRASNAYA ZVEZDA. Where do all these sundry rumors and fabrications originate: Apparently the entire Army voted for Zhirinovskiy, and even the celebrated Kantemir Division supports the LDPR [Liberal Democratic Party of Russia].

As always people here consider the foreign mass media and the former "hostile voices" to be best informed, or at least to claim to be in possession of the best information. I am leafing through a collection of EFIR-DAYDZHEST reports. DEUTSCHE WELLE reports the categorical opinion of the Moscow correspondent of the newspaper DER TAGESSPIEGEL: "The result of the vote in the Army turned out to be triumphant for Zhirinovskiy." Radio France International quotes the newspaper LE QUOTIDIEN DE PARIS: "Sunday's elections are a warning. The election results at military units showed that the president does not enjoy the support of the military. The Army supports the ultranationalists and the Communists."

I think that any rumors and sensationalist statements about whose side the Army is on signal a desire to ascribe distinct political preferences to it and have a speculative ring to them. Parliament has yet to assemble for its first session, but a fuss has already been kicked up about the Armed Forces. The most dangerous outcome would be if the Army were to be successfully drawn into the next political spectacle instead of being helped to solve its many problems. Many servicemen with whom we managed to talk recently consider that, irrespective of who gained the upper hand in the political battles, what they primarily want is victory for the "party with a respectful attitude toward the men in uniform;" in other words, that of common sense and a constructive, consistent, and considered solution of the Armed Forces' problems. We should not forget that the Army collectively approved the new constitution, and thus the democratic and economic transformations in the country.

...On the eve of the elections the Defense Ministry leaders stated: Campaigning for this or that party is forbidden in the Armed Forces. It is wrong to introduce into the Army—which is going through hard times—a spirit of dissent along party lines. It is much more important to soberly appraise the numerous promises and populist statements addressed to it, of which there was a surfeit during the election campaign. Of course, fairly one-sided election campaigning and the unequal allocation of television airtime among the party and bloc leaders influenced the choice of many Russians, and servicemen are no exception here. Nevertheless, the foreign experts are in my view clearly being hasty in their conclusions, committing the indiscretion of lacking objectivity.

More on Army Voting Patterns

PM2112123393 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 21 Dec 93 p 1

[Article by Yevgeniy Popov: "How Did the Military Vote? MOSCOW TIMES Refutes Television Journalists"]

[Text] In last Sunday's [19 December] television review "Itogi," Yevgeniy Kiselev provided a textbook example of forecasters who first make stunning predictions and, when they spectacularly fail to come true, quite unabashedly explain, with great panache, precisely why their prophecies have not materialized. Despite the ban on publishing the results of sociological polls for 10 days before the elections, reports of them nevertheless filtered through into the mass media. Referring to the polls of the Public Opinion Research Center, Kiselev too broadcast his forecast. When it was "confirmed"—as almost completely wrong—he referred to the data of yet another survey of voters who, it turns out, had been coy, saying that they would vote for "Russia's Choice" and in fact supported Zhirinovskiy and the Communists.

A more than naive excuse, if you consider that sociologists have long had in their arsenals special means, well known and widely used, enabling correctives to be made to take account of this kind of coyness in respondents' answers. So the real explanation here is quite different: Among people calling themselves sociologists, there are, alas, quite a few experts at delighting the ears of those in power with statistics that they want to hear. Polls of this kind—and we are regularly regaled with them on "Itogi"—have exactly nothing to do with scientific research, and are completely akin to the scandalous, shock television gala which Kiselev rightly called a "political farce."

Not just pseudosociologists, but also the service class demonstrated the art of pleasing the bosses in the days before the election. The English-language newspaper THE MOSCOW TIMES published in its 18 December 1993 issue in place of the editorial an article by Aleksandr Zhilin about how the Russia Army voted in the recent elections and the referendum on the draft constitution. If you believe "Itogi," it is quite simply impossible to determine precise data which would enable us to answer this question unambiguously; this, however, did not prevent the expert commentator from adding, with enthusiasm, that the Russian Army was solidly behind Yeltsin both in October and on 12 December of this year. But is this so? Aleksandr Zhilin notes in his article that before the elections Defense Minister Pavel Grachev reported cheerfully to the president that the radical bloc "Russia's Choice" could firmly count on the Army's support, promising that at least 70 percent of the military would vote for Gaydar and his supporters. But what happened in reality? Exactly the same as with the forecasts of Kiselev and the democratic sociologist courtiers! Referring to the data of the Central Electoral Commission and the Ministry of Defense, THE MOSCOW TIMES reports, in particular, that 72 percent of voters in the Strategic Missile Forces voted for Zhirinovskiy, 16.5 percent for the Communists, and only 5.8 percent for "Russia's Choice." In Moscow Military District 46 percent voted for the Liberal Democrats, 13.7 percent for the Communists, and only 8.5 percent for "Russia's Choice."

Directly after the elections Zhirinovskiy made the statement that he was supported by the Taman Division, which, however, was rejected in an Ostankino television program. However, A. Zhilin cites the exact figure: No less than 87.4 percent of Taman voters voted for Zhirinovskiy. It is also reported that in the Kantemir Division, which after the events of October was considered pro-presidential, 74.3 percent of soldiers and officers voted for Zhirinovskiy.

THE MOSCOW TIMES goes on to report that in the Far East Military District 19 percent of military men and their families voted for the Liberal Democrats; 11.5 percent for the Communists; 8.5 percent for "Civic Union," and only 4.3 percent for "Russia's Choice."

In the Air Force 40 percent voted for Zhirinovskiy, 10 percent for "Russia's Choice," and 8 percent for the Communists. In the Black Sea Fleet 19 percent voted for the Liberal Democras, 11.5 percent for "Russia's Choice," and 8.7 percent for the Communists. The results of the vote in the Russian Humanitarian Academy were sensational—93 percent supported Zhirinovskiy.

The results of the army salvo of voting slips is commented on in THE MOSCOW TIMES by military experts. Thus Major General Vladimir Dudnik, leader of the "Army and Society" organization, suggests: "These results clearly show that the Army has said 'good bye' to Yeltsin." And military analyst Lieutenant General Aleksey Smirnov stated that, in his opinion, Yeltsin can no longer rely on the support of the military.

As we can see, THE MOSCOW TIMES' military experts refute "Itogi's" commentary on the results of the vote in the Army. But, unlike the political scientists from "Itogi," they do so using not propaganda declarations but facts and figures.

KRASNAYA ZVEZDA Hails Praise for Election Objectivity

PM2012151793 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 18 Dec 93 p 1

[ITAR-TASS report and KRASNAYA ZVEZDA editorial comment: "KRASNAYA ZVEZDA Has Been Named By Far the Most Objective and Impartial—Such is the Opinion of the Russian-American Experts Who Have Analyzed Press and Television Coverage of the Election Campaign"]

[Text] As reported by ITAR-TASS, a news conference of experts from the Russian-American Information Press Center took place a few days ago. It was here that an expert evaluation of mass media coverage of the progress of the recent electoral campaign was given. It was noted in particular that during the election campaign Vladimir Zhirinovskiy, leader of the Liberal Democratic Party of Russia [LDPR], received more air time on the Ostankino, RTV, and St. Petersburg Television channels than all other candidate deputies.

According to the experts' research, the LDPR leader was given almost five hours of air time, outstripping his main rival Yegor Gaydar, leader of the "Russia's Choice" bloc, by eight minutes. At the same time, a large part of the time on television (45 percent, or 43 hours) was accorded to government parties or blocs.

In the main, paid advertising on the air (which came to around 20 hours) was done on RTV and Ostankino, which, unlike St. Petersburg Television, cover the whole of Russia's territories with their programs. In terms of time purchased, "Russia's Choice" is out in front (around five hours), followed by the Party of Russian Unity and Accord [PRUA] (four hours and five minutes), and the LDPR (two hours and 44 minutes). There was no paid advertising by the "Yavlinskiy-Boldyrev-Lukin," the Agrarian Party of Russia, the Russian Federation Communist Party, and the "Dignity and Charity" Movement.

Research on election coverage by the state radio station "Radio Rossii" (23 hours of broadcast time) and the independent "Ekho Moskvy" (33 hours) revealed a generally favorable attitude toward pro-government organizations. At the same time, "Ekho Moskvy" journalists sometimes overdid it with the "unfettered criticism" and "derision of candidates," it was noted at the news conference.

As a result of an analysis of newspaper items in the period from 9 November through 11 December, KRASNAYA ZVEZDA, the organ of the Russian Ministry of Defense, was named by far the most impartial and objective publication. But the majority of newspapers expressed clearly defined political sympathies (NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA for the PRUA, ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA and ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI for "Russia's Choice") The greatest number of articles on the elections was published by MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI—210, ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI—175, and SEGODNYA—143.

FROM THE EDITORIAL OFFICE: We are grateful to the experts from the Russian-American Information Press Center for this high appraisal. There is no need to say how difficult it is in today's politicized atmosphere to remain objective and impartial. And if authoritative analysts such as these put the newspaper in this category, then it is a great honor.

For us, frankly, it was flattering to learn that KRASNAYA ZVEZDA, which has never played the trump card of the term "independent," was actually less dependent upon party influences than many other publications.

Besides, the Army's newspaper cannot be any other way today. It does not have the right. KRASNAYA ZVEZDA's journalists, of course, are also living people with passions, emotions, sympathies, and convictions. But there remains an awareness of what stands behind them—the Armed Forces, which are currently, perhaps, the chief standard bearer of the pan-national principle, into which under no circumstances must the spirit of interparty and internecine contradictions be introduced. It is with due account of this that we sought from the outset to cover the election campaign in as balanced and considered a way as possible, striving to offer all election participants equal opportunities. We tried to inform our readers as fully as possible on the stances of the election blocs and parties, and we refrained from direct agitation on behalf of any particular one.

This kind of impartiality, however, by no means constituted a cold indifference to the processes under way in the political sphere. No, we are biased, we are very biased toward everything which concerns the fate of our fatherland, its dignity, its security interests, and defense capability. Of course, we are biased toward everything which concerns the struggle for our Russian spirituality, morality, respect for our history. Of course, we are on the side of true and constructive patriotism in the battle both against the nihilistic attitude toward our country, and against rabid nationalism. Of course, we are not impartial in our views on what the position of a defender of the fatherland in society should be.

We are passionate agitators (and we are not afraid to use this word here) for the regeneration of Russia, its economy, the strengthening of its statehood, the establishment of order everywhere and in everything, for a time when the words "Russia," "citizen of Russia" might be voiced with pride.

We believe and we know that our readers understand and share this passion.

Factors in Zhirinovskiy Showing Analyzed

PM2112100593 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 18 Dec 93 First Edition p 2

[Article by Iosif Galperin: "To Those Who Have Betrayed Themselves"]

[Text] Why be surprised—even before, it was believed that in a society which had resolved on a drastic change, forces which do not rely on themselves, which live off the state, must make up a healthy percentage. They can be called whatever you like: supporters of the soviets and empire, nationalists, chauvinists... Now, after the October events which removed some of their former banners, they have been renamed: They are Zhirinovskiy's voters. At least, thanks to the elections, we know how many there are and what they are now called. Aleksandr Nevzorov called the supporters of the National Salvation Front in the Supreme Soviet "our boys" ["nashi"], now the flank of the Duma where his fellows from the Liberal Democratic Party of Russia [LDPR] will sit can be called "our fascist boys" [nashisty"].

Thanks to Yeltsin for disagreeing with the "zero options" of Zorkin and other peacemakers: Something stable has remained in the today's troubled mood. Thanks for being able to get the constitution through; now we are not so frightened that legal extremists in Russia are trying to join the government and that under the new basic law it is the president who makes decisions here. Let him say thank you to the elections. Now the people's demands are clear to him: stepping up the social orientation of the reforms, paying more attention to the enterprises which are being converted and to Siberia and the Far East and to bringing Russia's national-state structure into line with civilized norms. So that it is not overtaken by the fate of the Union, rent by the spiral of separatism: That at a time when the center's imperial policy is provoking the local nomenklatura to promote nationalist slogans and when these slogans later provoke the center to drastic statements and timid advances.

And Zhirinovskiy? What he can do is not clear. (Incidentally, so far the results for single-seat districts are not known.) It is also not clear whether he is an independent figure or a screen from behind which a genuine "third force" will come out to the people with a solo song.

It is not even a case of the election results. In my view it is worth mentioning that before the elections many people in our country had suffered internal defeat. First, the democrats (without quotes) had essentially changed. They failed to understand the people (demos) whom they had promised to understand. They did not give the people "fish" and did not give them a "line." They betrayed them even when, for the sake of implementing reforms, they embarked on a deal with the territorial and sectorial barons; for instance they did not carry out demonopolization. But to no avail—the "barons" have their own aims, they will not make life worse for themselves for the sake of a bright capitalist future, they will not rush to eliminate state obstacles from the economy. The democrats who have themselves become the new nomenklatura have acquired self-naming skills. In my opinion the democrats' electoral activity has expired in the bureaucratic embraces of the local authorities. Actually, the rules of the Central Electoral Commission—music to Zhirinovskiy's ears in particular—served the same purpose. Having betrayed their promises the reformers did not concern themselves seriously with the law enforcement organs—and all kinds of Barkashov supporters remained unpunished, as did criminals.

Second, the democrats, claiming particularly high moral ground who waxed rhetorical over "dictatorship" and prepared to become the "democratic opposition" to the government, have betrayed their proclaimed principles. Internal emigres, they are like those leaders of perestroyka who are now lecturing on its history somewhere in the Midwest. The dogmatist professors have turned out to be practical in daily life while the pragmatist ministers have undermined the roots of the government, hurling quotas, benefits, credits, licenses, and subsidies at those who want them.

Third, of course, those naive people who believed the feasibility of the Zhirinovskiy-Kashpirovskiy party's promises have betrayed themselves. It is their (and our) good fortune that society and the state still have resources to prevent extremists from entering government. Never in history have they done any good, primarily to their own people. They have led them to the sacrifice. I realize that people would like to fall into a sweet slumber as they listen to these speeches and to wake up when everything is completely in order. We cannot manage to fall asleep, to switch of from our own vigorous actions. If we do then we shall not wake up....

The fourth group of self-betrayers are those who did not go to the elections. They said: We shall not enter politics! Politics came to their homes. They swore: a plague on both your houses! There is a plague in our common home. You eggheads, you intellectuals should be ashamed!... Indeed, even people who kept silent and did not vote and who do not consider themselves mental giants have a chance of regretting what they left undone.

The fifth category of self-betrayers is close to them. That is, those who voted not out of belief but for an outsider: either from compassion for someone persecuted by official propaganda, or from mischief, or from a vague dissatisfaction with life and themselves.

And, sixth, the journalists. There is no point in their being offended. In the search for the lurid, for three years our brothers have been reporting each little step by the self-styled Liberal Democrats, nurturing not only their self-importance but also their roots in public opinion. It was our brothers who, in exchange for a large amount of money, gave Zhirinovskiy television access out of turn, and we asked in earnest what the "leader" ["vozhd"] thought about any subject and tittered mindlessly over the boys in uniform. There was no analysis in our items.

Nor was there a firm ethical position. Watch out the LDPR party organization does not start teaching us "party literature."

Incidentally, at our first multiparty elections success was achieved by those who had formed party structures: The LDPR, the Russian Federation Communist Party, the Democratic Party of Russia.... But the democrats either have officials who are essentially hostile to them or a structureless collection of people who have gotten bogged down in squabbles. Why should we be surprised?

Zhirinovskiy Activities as Jewish Activist Noted

PM2012161793 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 18 Dec 93 First Edition p 4

[RIA report under the general heading "Rivals Prepare for Meeting in Parliament: IZVESTIYA Correspondents Report From the Headquarters of the Leading Party Blocs": "NEW YORK TIMES on Vladimir Zhirinovskiy"]

[Text] New York—In 1989 Vladimir Zhirinovskiy headed the "Sholom" Jewish cultural organization in Moscow, the NEW YORK TIMES reports. At that time, the newspaper stressed, he made no secret of the fact that his father—Volf Zhirinovskiy, who died in a car crash four years after his son was born—was a Jew.

The "Sholom" organization, the newspaper points out, was conceived by the authorities as a counterweight to the independent Jewish movement. But, in the opinion of the organization's members, Zhirinovskiy wanted to make it free of communist patronage and expelled a number of people associated with the anti-Zionist committee.

The newspaper, quoting Alexander Smukler, organizer of "Vaad" (the first independent Jewish movement) and now a U.S. resident, reports that Zhirinovskiy's views were "closer to him than to the pro-Communist 'Sholom' and he often helped 'Vaad,' providing legal consultations."

"He always considered himself a Jew," Smukler says, "but we in the organization saw him as an outsider. In my opinion, he is a brilliant politician and speaker, but, at the same time, a populist who will say anything to get what he wants. And what he wants is power."

Latsis: Democrats Must Learn To Combat 'Charlatanism'

PM2012154193 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 17 Dec 93 First Edition p 4

[Otto Latsis article: "Charlatinism as a Tool of Politics"]

[Text] Did the democrats themselves not ensure Zhirinovskiy's victory by virtue of the split in their ranks? Answering this question in MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI, Vladimir Lukin declared: "Yavlinskiy's bloc received a percentage of the vote which 'Russia's Choice' would not have received anyway. We did not take votes away from the democratic forces but, on the contrary, added to them." Does this mean that "Yabloko's" voters were capable of voting also for the LDPR [Liberal Democratic Party of Russia]? And yet the electorate of Zhirinovskiy on the one hand and of "Yabloko" (and also "Russia's Choice") on the other are political and cultural opposites.

One month before the elections, based on the results of the very first polls of voters, sociologists conducted an elementary operation: They examined the correlation (interrelationship) between the voters' level of education and their political preferences. They ascertained that Zhirinovskiy is preferred by the least educated (incidentally, Zyuganov's electorate is his immediate neighbor in this sense). Yavlinskiy's and Gaydar's voters, on the contrary, are the most educated section of the whole electorate.

So Vladimir Petrovich could not have invented anything more absurd to justify the split in the democrats' camp (for which he is responsible). The democrats took conscious and committed voters from one another. It was chiefly to Zhirinovskiy that the democrats in concert gave away wavering voters who were not skilled enough to make a well-founded choice and who based their preference on chance external attributes (such people always make up almost the majority). First, their attacks on each other are the most obvious fact which repels any voter. Second, Zhirinovskiy's program and tactics are ideally adapted to picking up the votes of nonindependent voters dropped by other politicians. They are the program and tactics of a sophisticated political charlatan.

The circumstances demand an attentive study of the phenomenon of political charlatanism, since, as we have all been able to see for ourselves, in the confusion of the transitional epoch a charlatan can achieve an impressive success in parliamentary elections. Moreover, it is perfectly obvious that Zhirinovskiy's plans include winning the next presidential election. It is necessary to study Zhirinovskiy, his propaganda technique, and his voters: Why did they prove so vulnerable in the face of barefaced lies?

I believe that we should not frighten ourselves and the rest of mankind with a picture of Russia as a country in which masses of people support fascism. I believe that only a minority of those who voted for Zhirinovskiy (incidentally, sociologists must, of course, make a special study of the LDPR's electorate) are active supporters of his fascist slogans. The majority of those who voted for the LDPR hardly realized that his slogans are fascist. They voted for a better life the way they understand it. To put it bluntly, they voted not for a fascist but for a charlatan in whom they believed.

I do not mean by this that the danger is less than it seemed to us. We must simply understand the nature of the illness correctly in order to recover from it.

The charlatan as a psychological type is known to everyone from childhood—recall, for example, the king's speech in *Huckleberry Finn*: "I have done a lot of doctoring in my time. I have healed paralysis, cancerous tumors, etc. by laying on hands—I have succeeded most of all in this; I can tell fortunes pretty well if I find out all there is to know from someone. I also preach and convert to Christianity; prayer meetings are also in my province." Do you recognize this?

Let us now move from literature to life. On the morning of the first day after the elections I heard part of a BBC broadcast in English, an interview with Zhirinovskiy. It was not at all the Zhirinovskiy that Russian voters know who was talking with the British. He swore that he has no claim on neighbors' lands and that he will never use weapons to achieve foreign policy ends—in short, he totally rejected all the bellicose statements which attracted the hearts of many patriots to him.

A charlatan's greatest advantage is that he lies with enviable ease. At a meeting in the IZVESTIYA editorial office Zhirinovskiy was asked how he intends to fulfill his unrealizable promise to double the population's real income in six months. He named two potential sources of Russia's fabulous enrichment: to end aid for neighbors, the former republics of the USSR, and to stop the conversion of defense enterprises and, instead, trade in weapons—which can supposedly produce $30 billion a year. It was pointed out to him that both sources are unrealistic. It is impossible to end aid because Russia does not give anyone any particular aid, unless you count Tajikistan, but even there the amount of expenditure is not that great, and the fall of the existing regime, if refused support, threatens Russia with far greater losses. A temporary imbalance in the trade exchange came about after the breakup of the USSR as a consequence of the change in the economic basis of exchange. It occurred to the government itself to eliminate it—this idea did not come from Zhirinovskiy. But this cannot be done overnight—otherwise Russia will again lose more than it gains. As for arms trade proceeds of $30 billion, this is simply an invention. This trade has never produced such an income and, given our potential, cannot produce anything even remotely similar. This figure is a hypothetical and highly dubious assessment of the scale of essentially free arms deliveries (on credit which has never been repaid) to the USSR's former allies. No one will take as many of our weapons for money under conditions of real competition.

Zhirinovskiy replied that the LDPR has not investigated this, for they do not have any such specialists, and they took the official data—for they must trust them. It was pointed out to him that he misinterpreted the data—this was our polite way of putting it, meaning that he did not understand what he was talking about or had lied deliberately. He did not object. This subject was reflected in the newspaper report on the conversation. You might have thought that our hero could no longer claim not to know the worth of the "data" which he used and which are, in fact, the basis of his whole attractive economic program. But what happened? Nothing. The day after the elections, in the stream of cheerful speeches by the LDPR leader, we heard: I will end aid and halt conversion.

Just as in medicine, charlatanism in politics is not harmless. We will never get $30 billion in profits from selling weapons, but additional expenditure on buying them could prove necessary because of Zhirinovskiy's speeches. He has promised to return to Russia all the lands of the former czarist empire—which means not just Ukraine, let us say, but also the Baltic republics, Finland, and Poland. He composed the booklet on "the push for the south," toward the Indian Ocean, and also declared that there is no territorial question in relations with Japan. While someone whom many people considered a buffoon was talking about this in the elections, no problems arose. But when it turned out that yesterday's buffoon is now the leader of an influential party and a real candidate in the presidential election, a multitude of problems appeared the very next day after the elections. IZVESTIYA has reported very serious problems both with Ukraine's nuclear weapons (nobody now will compel it to disarm) and in relations with East Europe, NATO, and Japan. Zhirinovskiy can whitewash himself as much as he likes in his interviews in English—the profits promised by him do not exist and are not foreseen, and perfectly real political and economic losses have appeared before he has had time to gain power.

I certainly do not make it my aim to say: Ai, ai, ai, Zhirinovskiy, you ought to be ashamed of yourself! Such talk is pointless. But should we supporters of democracy not also be ashamed? Why have we proved totally incapable of reacting to all this professionally? In order to drive a car you need not only a car and gasoline. You also need a road, driving skills, and knowledge of the traffic regulations. But in our handling of democracy we resemble someone who has taken possession of a car but does not have all the other conditions for movement, although he attempts to drive. Democracy means not only the right to choose but also the complex mechanisms which make it possible to use this right.

How should the democratic mass media, for example, have acted toward Zhirinovskiy? It is stupid to keep quiet about him, because he does not stay silent and his access to the television screen is not restricted, and more than 6 million voters supported him in the last presidential election. It was necessary to organize strong defense against his demagoguery. For when IZVESTIYA showed the groundlessness of his economic program, it was not for nothing that he was not embarrassed. IZVESTIYA's circulation is less than 1 percent of the total number of voters, and our readers mainly do not make up his electorate. But any shortcoming on his part should have been picked up by television and radio as a newsworthy fact. But this did not happen.

Of course, the democrats could have learned from Zhirinovskiy the ability to address not the population in general but specific sections. The democrats in the government could have shown more concern not only about the correctness of the general direction of economic policy but also about the problems of specific social sections—particularly old people, families with children, miners, people in "the norths," etc.

The established political style, whereby a politician is not afraid to lie in public, undoubtedly benefited Zhirinovskiy. True, it was not the democrats who introduced it. Let us recall how Khasbulatov lied to parliament's face when he declared that he had not called the government worms and was at once exposed by a video recording: He had done so. Instead of removing him from his post, our deputies only started to respect him more: They also did not like the government. Maybe all this is long forgotten, following the demise of the Supreme Soviet? But certain democrats featured in their election speeches not only disloyal attacks but also not always truthful ones—against their own democrat colleagues, too.

Today the democrats are urging each other to mobilize against the fascist danger. I am also pleading for the same thing, only I would like to understand how this is to be done. When there is a fascist against you with an assault rifle, everything is simple: You also get an assault rifle. Only I would like to stop fascism before it gets as far as assault rifles. But we need means for this. You cannot take a fascist charlatan with a deputy's badge and a microphone by means of fighting spirit alone. Hysterics in the struggle against him guarantee failure: In hysterics, when reason retreats and Pavlovian reflexes soar, a fascist is always stronger.

There is no need for hysteria. What is needed to recover from a charlatan's hypnosis is professionalism in all respects. A serious sportsman invariably works with a psychologist. But a politician? Zhirinovskiy certainly does, if you judge from the progress he has made from election to election in his skill as an actor. It has to be thought that his friendship with Kashpirovskiy is not accidental. But psychologists could not get through to his democratic opponents and observed in horror the elementary mistakes in the democrats' election publicity.

It is still necessary to systematically and persistently badger the charlatan's fascism and expose its essence at every step. Russians have no inoculation against homebred fascism, and we remember from childhood only fascism which speaks a foreign language. Not everyone is capable of recognizing Hitlerian slogans when they are directed not to Russia from outside but come out from Russia. Right after the elections Zhirinovskiy used the atom bomb to intimidate Japan—a martyr-country which was the victim of the first atomic bombing raid. The response to this must be a draft law banning propaganda of war and the threat of war and providing for deputies to be stripped of their deputy's seat for such threats and for a ban on political parties by decision of a court.

It is easy to guess that the LDPR leader will wish to tur his present term as a deputy into a two-year election campaign, not assuming responsibility for any specific action but criticizing those who are engaged in acting. It depends on the democrats' professionalism whether they will manage to turn this into a campaign to expose Zhirinovskiy.

...At the beginning of the election campaign Zhirinovskiy, who was shouting from the housetops his threat to win, did not really believe himself that he would even surmount the 5-percent barrier. He will be unable to deny this: Alone among all the 13 party leaders, he also ran in a single-seat district, not hoping for a party list. Hope for the best, but prepare for the worst—if the democrats had also done this....

Efforts To Woo Communists Into Coalition Viewed

PM2012165593 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 18 Dec 93 p 1

[Vladimir Ryashin article: "Suddenly the Gentlemen Have Fallen for the Comrades"]

[Text] The changes in Russia's political gallery are amazing! The canvases painted by the masters of official propaganda are being hastily replaced since the elections to the Federal Assembly. The leaders of democracy whose images have been recorded here are being deprived of the roses in their buttonholes—let them present a simpler appearance since they have no cause to celebrate. The leader of the Liberal Democratic Party of Russia [LDPR] is being coiffed a la Adolf. But the greatest work to do is over the the group portrait of the Communist Party of the Russian Federation [CPRF]. The embarrassed artists are carefully removing the brown hue from the portrait—softer pastel tones are needed now. The facial expressions are also being changed with hasty brush strokes: Just yesterday they were sullen and brooding, suddenly they are wreathed in benign smiles. And no one is jabbing a finger at them, saying as they used to: "Ah, you are communo-fascists."

Meanwhile, it is not just the vocabulary that is changing but the rules of the game, too. Those rules are undoubtedly dictated by the unexpected political conditions which emerged when the votes had been counted up. The democrats, incapable of abandoning the tactic of looking for an enemy, are changing their target. The mighty salvoes of the propaganda batteries are now bombarding the positions of Vladimir Zhirinovskiy. It is not so much he and his party, which they considered quite comic until recently, that they dread, rather it is the mood of those millions of Russians who preferred the LDPR program or to be more accurate not the program so much as its inner core: That the Russians should not feel degraded, persecuted, or left to be robbed in their own country.

The democratic leaders are not shouting in horror "The Russians are Coming!" but they are worried by the feeling that Ivan is at last getting up off his backside to ask: What have you done to my state? Now they are ready, if not to waive their principles, then at least to make concessions to anyone who is prepared to try to curb this as yet chaotic force. Well, since there is no one capable of doing that a broad alliance is suggested. Judging by recent statements of Yegor Gaydar, Andrey Kozyrev, and other leaders of "Democratic Choice" ["Demvybor"], a place has been reserved for the Communists in the planned coalition, too. If they accept it the reformers will forgive the CPRF's past sins. They will even be forgiven the seemingly unforgivable—the party's appeal to reject the draft new constitution in the referendum.

Publicists who won renown by preaching crude anticommunism are ready to offer the public an historical parallel: Just remember, the National Front in France was created on the eve of World War II to resist the threat of fascism. Of course they are aware that the comparison is a lame one: There is a greater distance between Zyuganov and Gaydar today than there was then, almost 60 years ago, between the French communist leader Maurice Thorez and the French socialist leader Leon Blum, but that doesn't matter...

Well, the CPRF has always favored accord in society. Furthermore, it is not against the reforms in Russia. But there are questions to which the democrats and the Communists give different answers. Reforms, yes, but for what purpose and at whose expense? There are no less complex differences in the approaches to another problem: Russia and the rest of the world. Of course Zyuganov's party is not a sectarian or isolationist association; it is ready for contacts and constructive cooperation with any sensible political forces. But the Communists will hardly accept an alliance the aim of which is to combat yet another mythical foe—Russian fascism. Let us bear in mind that it is not just the sleep of reason which produces monsters. Monsters are sometimes deliberately created in secret laboratories so as to make people fear something they actually ought not fear at all.

Elections Show Widening Differences in Country

MK2112110093 Moscow SEGODNYA in Russian 21 Dec 93 p 2

[Article by Dmitriy Oreshkin, of the Russian Academy of Sciences Geography Institute, Mercator Group, under the "Results" rubric: "Citizens Want Definitiveness in Politics. Country Divided Into Spheres of Influence"]

[Text] The chief lesson of the December elections is that we have become terribly removed from each other—socially, economically, and territorially. These are essentially only different manifestations of one and the same process of general divergence.

The collapse of official centrism was, incidentally, long forecast. The collapse or near collapse of moderate regionalism identified with Shakhray's party and moderate liberalism identified with the Russian Movement for Democratic Reforms and partially with the Democratic Party of Russia. There is also the collapse of "common human" values of the Cedar ecology. This is politics.

There is a clear failure of the attempts to institute the "middle class" and charge it with the responsibility for social stability. Instead, we have a polarization of incomes and the growth of the "positive" pole of a class of small shopkeepers and big financial speculators who cannot and will not invest in production unless they are sure that political prospects are reliable. All is as clear as it is about the "negative" pole. This is the economy.

There is the clear delimitation of the country into "liberal market-oriented" regions (mainly around the capital) on the one hand, and conservative-communist and national-opposition territories with a greater or smaller influence of the communists, on the other. This is geography.

The old local elite masterminded the elections everywhere. Where the elite still retains communist attitudes, people's disaffection resulted in "red" voting. Where local authorities already have a different mind set, a greater number of Russia's Choice representatives went through in one-candidate constituencies: gambling on those who hold power in the center. Many Russia's Choice candidates elected in one-candidate constituencies are now perhaps casting about for ways of retreat to some other parliamentary factions. The second (or the first) important factor that influenced the behavior of Russian provincial voters was the central mass media and V. Zhirinovskiy's genius that managed to attract the votes of all those hurt and disaffected.

This is very important: A consolidating role is played by a man from nowhere, a man without a biography and even without a political program, but with a face and character. A man promising stark but concrete things, giving confidence.

Hence the conclusion: Moscow democrats and liberals failed to deliver on the demand formulated by the country's people: their controlling functions consisted in setting the limits of movement harshly and in no uncertain terms. They would have been sooner forgiven their excessive severity than their excessive compliance. They instead went on and failed to demonstrate appropriate confidence in being right.

No catastrophe has happened. The country, driven by centripetal forces, is in a state of quasi-equilibrium. The president's role now increases a hundredfold. The remaining two years may prove crucial given the established apparatus, the momentum of democratic change, and the first results (abundance of goods; declining rate of inflation, Russia's becoming the leader among the CIS countries). The most important thing that people now lack is a firm and loud voice by a man who knows what to do. In essence, the only question is whether this is going to be the voice of Boris Yeltsin and Yegor Gaydar, or the voice of Vladimir Zhirinovskiy.

Khabarovsk Radio Commentary Sees 'Results We Deserved'

OW2112081293 Khabarovsk Radio Khabarovsk Network in Russian 2010 GMT 13 Dec 93

[Unattributed commentary from the Priamurye "Day by Day" program]

[Text] And so our main news is about the elections to the Federal Assembly and voting on the draft constitution. So far we can say that the election of deputies was valid in the kray. Viktor Ishayev received the greatest number of votes for a candidate deputy of the Federation Council and Viktor Bulgakov came second. Late last night the commission was summing up the results of voting to the State Duma and on the draft constitution. In the second part of our program we promise to tell you exactly what the commission has learned as of today.

Essentially, however, we have the results we deserved. It simply remains to analyze them. We can draw conclusions and make forecasts, but today in our program we are not asking what the political scientists, sociologists, or astrologists think. Their time will come. Today we will simply say what we think, because journalists were forced to remain silent during the election.

My primary conclusion, for example is that the authorities have no idea what changes they want, nor do they not know what the people want or what they really think. The authorities and our spiritual elite have suddenly started behaving as if we, communist Russia only yesterday, have become firmly settled in a state with a refined democracy. The conditions created for political opponents—it would be more honest to call them enemies of the democratic wing currently in power—under which they prepared for the elections were such that there can have been few doubts about who would be elected. Our best minds and writers did not honor Zhirinovskiy with much serious attention. So now, if we do not get a parliamentary majority of his making, we will at least get a powerful coalition. He really does have support and we should not close our eyes to this. After all, who could explain to the people why they should once again put their trust in those who have made their lives more difficult?

The president, apparently in an effort to show that he was very objective, declared he did not support any party. But this is simply ridiculous. He is not God on high, but merely a president on this sinful Earth and he must draw support from political forces. If he does not, he will be forced to become intimately linked with Zyuganov or even Zhirinovskiy. In my opinion, it was alright for the president to declare he was not a member of any party and did not support any of them, either with his influence or finances. However, he should have expressed his sympathy for the democrats. I think he should have spoken on this point, and not to do so gave the impression we no longer had the president who until recently was the leader of Democratic Russia.

As far as the local kray authorities are concerned, what results or what activity could they have expected? Surely it was no secret to them that people at plants and lumbering companies have not been paid for months, that dissatisfaction in the kray's rayons is growing.

A whole staff under the kray administration worked on the preparations and all interested officials were involved. Of course it is important to designate a polling site or finance the campaign, but who talked to the people? If the administration leaders could not themselves find the right words, they should have designated those who are respected in the rayons and cities. They could have been asked. In fact, Viktor Ivanovich Ishayev repeatedly said during visits to our studio that people would vote well and support their government in those places where the economy was sound and where the situation was stable.

And that is how it turned out in Khabarovsk. The situation here is stable enough, and nobody is on strike. Nevertheless, they chose Zhirinovskiy's party over the incumbent authorities.

My forecast is as follows: Our parliament's lower chamber will likely become an arena of fierce political struggle for complete authority. There may be two moderating factors. The first comes thanks to those who voted for the constitution. Despite its imperfections, it is a major moderating factor because it limits the parliament's framework. The second is the hope that members of the upper chamber, the Federation Council, will be more modest in their ambitions.

U.S.-Russian Seminar Views Conversion Problems

PM2112130193 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 21 Dec 93 First Edition p 1

[Unattributed report under the "Yesterday, Today, Tomorrow" rubric: "Conversion in Science Cities"]

[Text] Problems of the conversion of enterprises in science cities were discussed at a Russian-U.S. seminar held in Obninsk.

It was organized by staffers of the U.S. National Defense University Industrial College. Specialists shared experience of implementing conversion in scientific research organizations and at industrial enterprises in America, while Obninsk scientists, businessmen, and bankers spoke of their achievements and mistakes. The seminar ended with the signing of a protocol of intention between the aforementioned college and the "Obninsk-Tekhnopolis" Association on further cooperation in implementing conversion.

Koptev on U.S.-Russian Space Cooperation Accord

PM2112100393 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 18 Dec 93 p 1

[Report by Vladimir Khrustov: "International Space House Planned. Project Signed Within Framework of Albert Gore's Visit, Promising Russia $400 million"]

[Text] Russia, together with the United States, Europe, Canada, and Japan, will participate in the creation of an international orbital space station. Final agreement on this was reached 16 December: A package of documents on Russian-U.S. cooperation in the sphere of space was signed within the framework of U.S. Vice President Albert Gore's visit.

Commenting on this important event, Yuriy Koptev, general director of the Russian Space Agency, noted that, by participating in the realization of this project, the Russian side will be able to earn $400 million; permanent work is guaranteed for 60,000-70,000 Russian space rocket complex specialists over 15-20 years. This will enable the country to retain its scientific and technical potential and the status of a great space power.

Participation in this project is important for the Russian side also because we do not have sufficient funds today to finance work on creating a new generation orbiting station. The "Mir" complex, which is operating in orbit today—costing today one-third of all funds allocated to the space program to maintain its work efficiency—will exhaust its service life in 1997. It should be replaced, so it is planned, by a new international space house—"Station Alpha." It will be run by specialists from the U.S. city of Houston and Moscow Oblast's Kaliningrad.

"What we are doing in space today is a project for the future," Yuriy Koptev's U.S. counterpart, NASA Director Daniel Goldin stressed. "Today we should be not competing, but pooling our efforts."

No U.S. Plans To Mediate Russian-Japanese Dispute

PM2012162393 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 18 Dec 93 p 2

[ITAR-TASS report under the "Yesterday" rubric: "In the United States: Washington Will Not Mediate in Settling the Russian-Japanese Territorial Dispute"]

[Text] The United States does not intend to come forward with any major initiative, aimed at assisting the settlement of the Russian-Japanese territorial dispute, during President Bill Clinton's forthcoming visit to Moscow in January.

As the Japanese news agency KYODO reports from Washington, this was stated by a high-ranking U.S. spokesman who wished to remain anonymous.

Russia 'Will Support' Sanctions Against DPRK

LD2012163893 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1452 GMT 20 Dec 93

[Text] Since the diplomatic methods of resolving the North Korean nuclear problem "are far from being exhausted," the issue of international sanctions against Pyongyang is not likely to be raised in the near future. This statement was made in an interview with INTERFAX by a high-ranking Russian diplomat responsible for relations with North Korea.

According to him, "complicated negotiations" are in progress between Pyongyang, Washington, and the International Atomic Energy Agency, with each side advancing a package of proposals of its own. "To raise the issue of sanctions would be premature until the situation at the talks becomes clear," the diplomat told INTERFAX. "Some positive shifts emerged" lately in the stand taken by Pyongyang, he said. They include the statement by the North Korean leadership that it is willing to allow international inspections at some of its nuclear facilities.

With reference to Russia's attitude to the North Korean "nuclear problem," he pointed out that it is "virtually identical to that of the U.S. and of the entire world community." "Russia intends to strictly uphold the rules of nuclear nonproliferation. We stand for resolving this problem by diplomatic means, of course, but if North Korea takes a tough stance and makes negotiations impossible, Russia will not stand aside; it will support the world community's attitude, including the stand on sanctions," the diplomat said.

MiG Deal With Malaysia Depends on Stability

PM2012162593 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 2000 GMT 16 Dec 93

[By A. Kondulukov, S. Kucher, and D. Malyshev; from the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] The Russians are coming!—this is how foreign observers describe the participation of Russian enterprises in the LIMA-93 International Marine and Aerospace Exhibition which has taken place on the Malaysian island of Langkawi.

More than 50 of the 400 companies taking part in the exhibition were Russian. "Oboroneksport" was offering frontline fighters, anti-aircraft missile complexes, supermodern submarines, and patrol boats for sale. The Russian side spent a total of $600,000 on the exhibition. Experts believe that Russia's large-scale offensive on the Southeast Asian market is justified and that it may be able to reap the fruits in the near future. At present Malaysia is interested in buying our shoreline installation systems and, according to some reports, also several Russian Mi-26 helicopters. According to the Malaysian prime minister, an agreement on the purchase of 18 MiG-29's is to be definitively signed in January. This contract totals almost $2 billion. For the sake of comparison, our entire arms exports in 1992 totaled 3 billion.

Five days ago, one of the representatives of "Oboroneksport" said that the MiG deal could now be thwarted only by a Communist revolution in Russia. At the time this sounded like a good joke. But the arms trade is a tricky business and therefore it is impossible to accurately predict the likelihood of purchases. A great deal depends on the situation in our country. Countries are less interested in politicians who promise large-scale arms sales. They are interested in those who guarantee a stable domestic and foreign policy course of the country selling the weapons. For example, if Malaysia is to spend billions on Russian MiG's, it wants to be sure that apart from slogans, Russia will also be producing spare parts for MiG's—today, tomorrow, and in 10 years' time. [Video shows aerobatic and static displays, Russian weapons including minisubs at the exhibition.]

Mahathir on MiG Deal

PM2112091593 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 18 Dec 93 p 7

[Interview with Malaysian Prime Minister Mahathir bin Mohamed by Stanislav Kucher and Aleksey Kondulukov at the LIMA-93 air show in Langkawi; date not given: "MiG's in the Country of the Coconut Are Taste of Paradise. Malaysian Premier Promises That Contract To Buy Russian Fighters Will Be Signed in a Flash"]

[Text] Langkawi-Moscow—The as yet unconcluded deal for Russia to sell Malaysia 18 MiG-29 fighters seems to have been the talk of the town recently. And that is not surprising: This contract is to be the first step in our country's penetration of the Southeast Asian arms market, which it has not yet fully conquered.

Our brother journalists have on several occasions already "sold" MiG's to Malaysia: Unverified reports that the contract has been signed have appeared in newspapers and on television. However, we succeeded in obtaining an exclusive interview with Malaysian Prime Minister Mahathir bin Mohamed at the international LIMA-93 aerospace exhibition that ended recently in Malaysia and received the latest news on the progress of the talks.

[KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA] Your honor, is Malaysia going to buy our MiG's or not?

[Mahathir] Yes. We have unequivocally decided to buy the Russian fighters. Our Finance Ministry is just studying the technical details of the deal now.

[KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA] Talks have been under way for three years now. Why has it taken so long? What is preventing the contract being signed?

[Mahathir] First, I would not say that three years is a long time. Similar discussions often take seven to 10 years. What do we not like about the MiG deal? First, the quality of the engines or, to be more precise, their service life. In these terms your fighters are inferior to some of their counterparts. The engine's short life makes it necessary to develop a system, an infrastructure enabling them to be replaced in a timely manner. Consequently, this means additional expenditure. Our terms whereby we will pay part in hard currency and part by barter—palm oil and so on—is another matter. In our view, the ratio should be 50:50. Incidentally, this palm oil is a very valuable raw material in the chemical industry—you buy it for hard currency.

[KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA] Nonetheless you say that the contract will be signed. When?

[Mahathir] Possibly in January.

[KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA] Following your meeting with the Russian Government delegation, you said that if Malaysia had the money you would buy more MiG's.

[Mahathir] There is never enough money for everything that you want to buy. We now have to buy a host of equipment. Not only for our Air Force, but also for the Navy and for civilian industry.

[KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA] Does this mean that Malaysia is planning to discuss new arms contracts with Russia?

[Mahathir] We will quite possibly buy aviation and naval hardware from you. [Mahathir ends]

What do specialists from the "Oboroneksport" All-Russia Association, the main exporter of Russian weapons which is preparing the MiG contract, think about the prospects for the deal? "Our position remains firm: We must have 100 percent of the earnings in hard currency," we were told by Yuriy Gordeyev, deputy head of the "Oboroneksport" Price and Marketing Department. When asked what might prevent the contract being signed in the near future, Gordeyev replied: "Only a communist revolution in Russia."

Navy Seeking Permission To Unload Waste

LD2112024293 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1746 GMT 20 Dec 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Roman Zadunayskiy]

[Text] Moscow, 20 Dec—The situation regarding the Pacific's Fleet's storage of liquid radioactive waste is catastrophic. Storage facilities are full to overflowing, and if the problem is not solved over the next few weeks, they can rupture and radioactive waste will be discharged into the ocean in the Far East. This was stated by Viktor Kutsenko, head of the chief directorate of ecological safety of the Russian Ministry of Environment Protection, who was attending today's roundtable meeting on the problems of the burial of nuclear waste held at the Peace to Oceans international committee.

Captain First Rank Yevgeniy Romanov, representing the Russian Navy and head of section at the Navy's chief technical directorate, who was present at the meeting, also expressed fears that if urgent measures are not taken, an ecological disaster is possible in the Far East. He added that the merchant fleet vessel TNT-27 was full of radiocative waste. The TNT-5 vessel also holds 400 cubic meters of radioactive waste. These vessels are old and unfit to carry a large quantity of liquid radioactive waste, and no one can guarantee that they will not sink at the quay, said the Navy's representative.

Measures to utilize radioactive waste, under consideration at the Environment Protection Ministry, with the participation of Navy experts, are thought to take a year to implement, while these vessels are in no position to wait a year, said Romanov. He noted that in view of the extreme situation, the Navy intends to ask the Russian Government for permission to carry out a controlled discharge of liquid radioactive waste in Russia's territorial waters in the Far East.

In October 1993 a merchant vessel carried out a partial discharge of low toxic waste in the Pacific Ocean and this made Japan very indignant. Kutsenko said that this waste posed no danger. Its radioactivity was so low that it did not have to be classified as radioactive at all. The scientist also noted that the Pacific Fleet would need 10 billion rubles or several hundred million dollars to utilize liquid radioactive waste. Japan's promise to assist Russia in setting up liquid radioactive waste reprocessing facilities so far remains only a promise. At the same time, the Japanese are themselves discharging similar waste in the Paciofic.

According to an international convention, signed in 1972, the discharge of radioactive waste is banned in international waters throughout the world, while any state is free to do as it sees fit within its own territorial waters.

'Frenzied Nationalism' in Ukraine Deplored

PM2112094593 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 18 Dec 93 p 6

[Aleksandr Shinkin report: "Ukraine: 'Enemies of the State' Now Sought"]

[Text] The most widespread kind of pride, a wise man once observed, is national pride. And that is, I think, a normal phenomenon. There is nothing wrong in people respecting and honoring their traditions and customs. On the contrary, those people who are ashamed of or who forget their kinship are pathetic.

The problem lies elsewhere. National pride can be as easily wounded and offended as it can be taken to absurd lengths, to the point of frenzied nationalism. It is small wonder that politicians of all colors love to play this card in their selfish, self-serving games.

Many Ukrainian politicians are no exception here. And the tougher life becomes, the more nationalism is fueled. "The formation of Ukraine," People's Deputy M. Koviv recently stated from the pages of a newspaper, "can only take place as the establishment of a national state. Meanwhile the highly inimical idea of state bilingualism is being revived and propagated again. There is no doubt that the so-called foreigners want to take our country away from us forever."

The congress of the State Independence of Ukraine national association went even further. Its participants adopted a decision which bluntly states that only Ukrainian nationalism and its slogans "Ukraine Above All" and "Ukraine for Ukrainians!" are capable of averting catastrophe. The leaders of that organization are already saying that only a national dictatorship will save real Ukrainian national life."

And these are not mere empty declarations. At a session of the Ivano-Frankovsk Oblast Soviet its chairman, S. Volkovetskiy, discussed in earnest with party member V. Tsapovych the question of the criteria for the forcible deportation of Russians and Jews. Here is an excerpt from the transcript of that discussion:

"S. Volkovetskiy: ...Many people, different people, come to me regarding statements about Russians and Jews. Your statements say that Russian and Jew are clearly not terms of abuse. But I also as a soviet chairman want you to make clear whether it is necessary to expel all Russians and Jews or perhaps only those who oppose Ukraine? But in that case it is not only Russians and Jews but also Ukrainians and everyone else who opposes the state. Here it is necessary to be firm. I would like to be specific, because it is very important here....

"It is not clear here... I consider that I am acting correctly because it is essential for us to define these political things clearly.

"V. Tsapovych: ...The State Independence of Ukraine as an officially registered party does not oppose Russians because they are Russians, or Jews because they are Jews. We oppose enemies of the state.

"S. Volkovetskyy: Enemies of the state are another matter."

There is no need to comment on this dialogue. It speaks for itself. I would only observe that the term "enemies of the state" is very reminiscent of the well-known expression "enemies of the people." And, by all accounts, the means of combating apostates will be same as during those dreadful years. They will clearly regret only one thing, namely that the traditional sites for the "reeducation" of "enemies" (the Far North and Siberia) are now foreign countries for them.

One of the failings of history is that it repeats itself. And on each occasion the times of trouble bring to the surface not so much original personalities as people somewhat redolent of days long past. National pride turning into nationalism is no new phenomenon either. But nothing good has ever sprung up anywhere on that soil.

'Anti-Russian Hysteria' in Romania Deplored

PM2112121193 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 21 Dec 93 p 3

[Ravil Mustafin report: "Anti-Russian Hysteria in Romania"]

[Text] According to news agency reports, the anti-Russian hysteria in Romania is continuing. Recently there have been acts of vandalism at the Bucharest cemetery where Russian soldiers who died liberating Romania from German fascism are buried. A monument to the Soviet army of liberation has been damaged and plaques bearing the inscription "Eternal glory to the Soviet soldiers who died on Romanian soil" written in Russian and Romanian have been torn down and destroyed.

The busts of Russian and Soviet writers—Tolstoy, Gorkiy, and Mayakovskiy—in Bucharest's Herastrau Park have also been a target for the Romanian vandals: They also attacked busts of the Czech Fucik, the Ukrainian Shevchenko, the Kazakh Dzhambul, and even the Romanians Neculutse [name as transliterated] and Pzui-Pincho [name as transliterated], according to the ITAR-TASS correspondent.

The reason for this outburst of anti-Russian hysteria was the harsh sentence passed on the "Ilascu group" by a court in Tiraspol. Clearly certain forces in Romania would thus like Russia to bear the responsibility not only for the verdict of the Tiraspol court but also for the tragic events in Moldova in summer last year.

Unfortunately this is not simply a case of isolated attacks by hooligans who have decided to make war on the dead. The ITAR-TASS correspondent writes that the current anti-Russian campaign is also finding support from the official Romanian authorities.

Yet people in Bucharest must know and understand that Russia and its Armed Forces played and continue to play an exceptionally important, peace-making, stabilizing role in Moldova. And this is being done, furthermore, under an agreement with both Chisinau and Tiraspol. It is thanks to the efforts of Moscow, which advocates a peaceful settlement of the Dniester conflict, that the bloodshed has been halted.

Russians Concerned Over Kazakh Policies

LD2012184293 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1700 GMT 20 Dec 93

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] Twenty-five million Russians in northern Kazakhstan have found themselves in the position of outcasts as a result of Almaty's nationalist policies. Journalists were told this today by members of the congress of Russian communities.

Specialists and whole military battalions are leaving Kazakhstan; towns are becoming deserted. Russia is choking from a growing wave of refugees. Petropavlovsk, previously a Russian fortress, used to defend Russian frontiers, but now the town is becoming a Kazakh bastion against a mythical Russian threat. The question of the territorial border is being raised in the press, and such decisions lead to the path of war.

The Russian-speaking population can obtain neither citizenship nor residence permits in Kazakhstan. They are also unable to buy or sell housing. Russian-Cossacks have no official status, and in the government's systematic recommendations Cossacks and separatism stand in the same category. War begins with breaches of human rights.

The congress of Russian communities calls on the governments of the two states to reach agreement on the adoption of dual citizenship, and proposes that the question of a free economic zone in northern Kazakhstan be examined.

Soskovets on Russia Not Releasing Baykonur Cosmodrome

LD2012173993 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1656 GMT 20 Dec 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Oleg Velichko]

[Text] Moscow December 20 TASS—Russia will not give up the Baykonur cosmodrome in Kazakhstan, Russian Vice-Prime Minister Oleg Soskovets said.

Speaking at a meeting devoted to Baykonur's life-support in Moscow on Monday, Soskovets said that "this object is indispensable both for strategic purposes and scientific research."

Russia and Kazakhstan have signed two agreements determining the terms of use and exploitation of

Baykonur facilities. Under the agreement, the center is considered to be under Russian jurisdiction.

Vladimir Ivanov, commander of the Russian Aerospace Forces, said that Kazakhstan is "seeking to reconsider the status of the cosmodrome to make it international." He stressed that despite the signed agreements it is necessary to "reconfirm the cosmodrome's Russian status."

Ivanov also called for signing an additional agreement between Russia and Kazakhstan to specify the questions of logistical support and joint financing of the cosmodrome.

The participants in the meeting called for a "reasonable compromise between Russia and Kazakhstan on the exploitation of the cosmodrome facilities." They noted that leasing the cosmodrome to Russia could be one of the forms of cooperation.

Space Agency Head Views Baykonur Funding

LD2112111993 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 0900 GMT 21 Dec 93

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] The idea of setting up an international space company on the basis of the Baykonur cosmodrome, as proposed by Kazakhstan and Ukraine, is unrealistic, according to Yuriy Koptev, director of the Russian Federation Space Agency. He stressed that a company like this would not be able to function without major capital investment from Russia.

According to Vladimir Ivanov, commander of the Russian Federation military space forces, Baykonur has received this year only about 2 billion rubles of the 6 billion rubles that Kazakhstan was to allocate to fund the cosmodrome. Russia has to pay more than 30 billion rubles to maintain Baykonur. According to available information, construction and maintenance building work is currently under way at the cosmodrome, but the staffing levels in the space units are running at only 53 percent.

92 'Mercenaries' Depart for Baku

LD2012195993 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1900 GMT 20 Dec 93

[Text] Nearly a sensation: An aircraft with 92 Russian mercenaries on board left Ivanovo for Baku on Monday. Our correspondent Oleg Alalykin reports.

[Alalykin] It was only toward evening that permission for take-off was given to the Azerbaijani Tu-154. Vladimir Tolmachev, the president's representative for Ivanovo Oblast, did not hide the fact that the authorities and law-enforcement bodies made every effort to detain the aircraft and its passengers. A thorough check of the passengers was made, during the course of which two knives were confiscated. The authorities were concerned not just for the fate of their compatriots, who had flown to the war of their own free will, but also about the probability of a flow of weapons to Russia through the mercenaries. However, consultations showed that there were no legal grounds for detaining them. There is no law on the hiring of mercenaries in Russia. Moreover, the passengers on the aircraft—citizens of Vladimir, Kaluga, Tambov, and Ivanovo oblasts—had no contracts on being hired into the service of the Azerbaijani armed forces. Clearly, they will be concluded in Baku.

Thus there are no legal grounds for describing the 92 Russians as mercenaries. This was merely some kind of Christmas journey to a southern republic by young lads who had not loaded themselves up with baggage. However, the true purpose of the trip is not being particularly concealed. Your correspondent found out from reliable sources that each mercenary has been promised 500,000 rubles a month and 5 million to their families in the event of their death. It is not yet clear how they were recruited and whether officers of the Azerbaijani army resorted to the services of their Russian colleagues at the regional military commisariat offices.

Latvian Talks Reportedly Postponed Until Jan

LD2112093793 Moscow Radio Moscow in Russian to Tajikistan 0415 GMT 21 Dec 93

[From the "Radio Slavyanka" program of the Russian Defense Ministry]

[Text] The next round of Russian-Latvian talks in Moscow will not be held. This information was given by Sergey Zotov, head of the Russian delegation. Probably they will be held in January 1994. The main subject of the talks is the status of the radar station. Latvia insists on its dismantling. Earlier Russia had proposed to withdraw its troops from Latvia by 31 August 1994, but the question of the status of the radar station must be settled first.

Glazyev Calls For Foreign Policy Changes Toward CIS

LD2012165193 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1452 GMT 20 Dec 93

[Text] The normalization of relations with CIS countries, above all with Ukraine, should be Russia's foreign policy priority, Sergey Glazyev, deputy to the State Duma, told Interfax.

Glazyev, formerly Minister for foreign economic relations, believes that confrontation with Ukraine is being stirred up artificially. Normalization of economic relations with the newly-independent states is very important now.

As to relations with Yugoslavia, Russia is not actively raising the question on allowing relief deliveries to that country. The survival of the Yugoslav population depends in many respects on deliveries of Russian gas. "Our moral duty and economic interests prompt a more active and tough stance by Russia in the UN Security Council so that the latter will allow gas and other cargo supplies to Yugoslavia," he said. "I believe," he added, "that Russia's policy towards Yugoslavia was erroneous from the very beginning. What is going on there now is partly the result of our connivance in adventurist policies," believes Glazyev. Russia must also urge that the world community allow Iraq to repay external debt to Russia. "We are interested in lifting the economic sanctions against Iraq and must not permit the use of the Iraqi card to squeeze Russia from the markets of that region," he said.

Ministry Official on Troop Withdrawal From Baltics

LD2012191093 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1800 GMT 20 Dec 93

[Text] Russia will pursue a "more realistic policy" in its relations with the Baltic countries. If no understanding of Russia's interests is visible on their side, Moscow will have to follow "an appropriate policy," Aleksandr Udaltsov, a Foreign Ministry official in charge of relations with the Baltic countries, told INTERFAX.

According to him, "sometimes our Baltic partners display no willingness to take into account even our minimal wishes." By way of example, the diplomat referred to Russia's proposal to maintain the radar station in Scrunda for another six years, on condition that it will give up its facilities in Ventspils and Liepaja and step up its troop withdrawal from Latvia. "There is an impression that our Latvian colleagues grasped only one of Russia's initiatives - the earlier time of troop withdrawal in late August of 1994. However, in the absence of shifts in their stand, the suggestion concerning earlier withdrawal is revoked automatically," Udaltsov said.

Under the circumstances, Russia "has no reasons for speeding up the withdrawal of its troops," he noted. "The negotiating process is not a one-way street. Russia cannot keep meeting the wishes of its Baltic partners, which, as a metter of fact, grow more numerous with each passing day," the diplomat said.

According to Udaltsov, Latvia and Estonia would like "the Lithuanian scenario" to be repeated. In other words, they are awaiting the conclusion of Russian troop withdrawal without signing an agreement that would clearly state the commitments of its signatories," he pointed out.

In connection with this, Udaltsov did not rule out the possibility that the withdrawal of Russian troops from the Baltic countries will be suspended. "We have learned the lesson taught by Lithuania, and have made appropriate conclusions," he said.

Progress Noted in Troop Withdrawal From Germany

LD2012204293 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1930 GMT 20 Dec 93

[From the "Radio Slavyanka" program of the Russian Defense Ministry]

[Text] The command of the Western Group of Russian Forces in Germany has worked out a plan for a festive ceremony to see off the Russian servicemen in 1994, journalists were told by Colonel General Matvey Burlakov, commmander in chief of this group of forces at a meeting in the headquarters of the Western Group of Forces in Wuensdorf.

The commander familiarized those present with the details of the plan and noted that the plan for the withdrawal of Russian troops from Germany is being implemented successfully: Five out of six armies have been withdrawn from German territory, along with 103,000 items of military equipment.

At the same time, the Russian general emphasized that welfare provisions in the new areas of residence still remain a most acute problem where troop withdrawals were concerned. He said that about 20 percent of families of officers and warrant officers will not be given housing by the end of the year.

Kozyrev Assures Mock of Continued Reform Course

AU2012194193 Vienna ORF Television Network in German 1830 GMT 20 Dec 93

[Georg Dox report]

[Text] Foreign Minister Alois Mock met with his Russian counterpart Andreiy Kozyrev in Moscow today. In view of growing concern in the West after the good election results for the ultra nationalist Zhirinovskiy, Kozyrev pointed out that Russia will stick to its reform course.

The European Democratic Union, the association of conservative parties in Europe, and the Liberal International familiarized themselves with the situation in Moscow after the elections. Austria's Foreign Minister Mock was among the foreign visitors who became witnesses of a heated inner-Russian controversy over who is to blame for the poor showing of the reform forces in recent elections. The discussion offered a foretaste of how difficult it will be to form a coalition among the democrats in the future Russian parliament.

During a meeting between Mock and his Russian opposite number Kozyrev, the surprise victory of the ultra rightist was discussed. Kozyrev stated that President Yeltsin assured him repeatedly and in a responsible manner that the Zhirinovskiy factor will not play a role in Russia's foreign policy.

More on New Initiative for Bosnia, Yugoslavia

PM2112090593 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 20 Dec 93 First Edition p 3

[Konstantin Eggart report under the general heading: "Russia Assumes the Role of Leader in the Yugoslav Settlement, but Its Fate Still Depends on the Outcome of the Internecine Battle Between Serbian Leaders"]

[Text] "The Russian side intends to put forward a new initiative aimed at the earliest possible achievement of not just a Bosnian settlement, but a settlement of the Yugoslav conflict as a whole," a high-ranking diplomat told IZVESTIYA's correspondent in a confidential conversation. He told me that Moscow's new plan is based on previous European initiatives and takes account of what has already been achieved in the multilateral talks being conducted with variable success in Geneva.

"Bosnia remains at the center of attention, but the wider aspects of Serb-Croat relations and the position of the civilian population on the territory of the former Yugoslavia will also be discussed," our interlocutor commented. However, in his words, the issue of the status of the self-proclaimed "Republic of Serbian Krajina" is, as before, not touched upon in the new program.

Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev intends to discuss the Russian initiative with Klaus Kinkel, chief of the German Ministry of Foreign Affairs, during a meeting in Suzdal at the end of the week. The Russian president's special representative Vitaliy Churkin will fly on Monday to Geneva, where representatives of all sides of the Yugoslav conflict will meet. He will set out Moscow's latest proposals. Then they will probably become the subject of discussion in Brussels, where participants in the Geneva talks will head for a meeting with European Union foreign ministers.

PFLP's Habash on Opposition to Peace Accords

PM2112115793 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 21 Dec 93 p 3

[Interview with George Habash, secretary general of the People's Front for the Liberation of Palestine, by a group of Russian journalists, transcribed by correspondent Vladimir Belyakov in Damascus; date not given: "George Habash: 'We Will Submit to the Will of the Majority'"]

[Text] Damascus-Cairo, 20 Dec—Several months have now passed since the signing of the Declaration of the Principles of Agreements on Interim Arrangements for Self-Government in the Gaza Strip and the Area of the City of Jericho and Surroundings, but passions still show no signs of abating. Ten Palestinian organizations, including the influential People's Front for the Liberation of Palestine [PFLP], have rejected this agreement. A group of Russian journalists, including your PRAVDA correspondent, met in Damascus with PFLP Secretary General George Habash and held a conversation with him.

[PRAVDA] What has caused the Front's criticism of the Palestinian-Israeli accords?

[Habash] The Declaration is out of line with the PLO political program. That program includes the need for the Palestinian people to exercise their rights to return home, to self-determination, and to create their own state. Not a single one of those tasks is resolved by the agreement.

The supporters of the accords maintain that it is essential to take account of the present international situation, which does not allow a single of the aforementioned aims to be achieved. We do, of course, understand that America now rules the world. But why was the agreement reached during secret negotiations? After all, Washington regards the peace process as an American plan!

The Palestinians have four main weapons in the arsenal of the struggle for their rights, and they have all been prized out of our hands by the Declaration. They are the intifadah—the uprising of the Palestinian population in the occupied lands—national unity, the international rule of law in the form of UN decisions supporting our rights, and, finally, coordinated Arab action.

In addition to the three main problems mentioned—the problem of our return, self-determination, and state—the Declaration also ignores three more important problems. These are the problems of Jerusalem, the Israeli settlements, and the borders. It is said they will all be resolved at the next stage. But this can be done only if there is a balance of forces. I, for example, am sure that Israel is only capable of leaving Jerusalem as a result of pressure. But if we have thrown away all our trump cards, how will we then be able to exert pressure on it? With the help of world public opinion? But that was represented primarily by the Soviet Union, which no longer exists.

[PRAVDA] What alternative to the agreement is there?

[Habash] To continue the struggle for our rights, relying on the will of the people and the justice of our cause. And also to unite all the forces opposed to the accords and explain the danger that they could sideline the Palestinian problem.

[PRAVDA] Does your position enjoy the support of Syria?

[Habash] Directly, no. The Syrians say that they they do not support the Declaration, but they do not oppose it either. For me as a politician this signifies only indirect support. We receive no material assistance from them, and everything that certain newspapers write on this score is out of line with reality.

[PRAVDA] Is there dialogue between the supporters and opponents of the signed Declaration?

[Habash] With the PLO leadership there is none, but there is dialogue with certain organizations which belong to it. For example, there has just been discussion of many problems with the Palestinian People's Party (the former Palestinian Communist Party). It has supported the declaration of settlement principles.

[PRAVDA] At what stage are the talks among organizations opposed to the agreement?

[Habash] We have agreed on three main points. First, we reject the declaration of principles. Second, 'Arafat has lost the right to represent the Palestinian people. Third, it is necessary to reorganize the PLO on democratic principles.

Bear in mind that the 10 organizations which have have rejected the Declaration represent diverse tendencies—democratic, patriotic, Islamic—so our views do not always coincide. We would like in the future to elaborate a short—literally two to three pages in length—program. Moreover we do not regard ourselves as the representatives of the Palestinian people, as an alternative to the PLO. We have proposed holding a referendum among Palestinians, wherever they live, on this agreement. The United Nations could take on its organization. While it is difficult to do this for all Palestinians, it is not so difficult to hold a referendum in the occupied lands, in Lebanon, Syria, and Jordan, where 80 percent of the Palestinian people live.

[PRAVDA] But if it emerges that the majority of the Palestinian people support the declaration of settlement principles?

[Habash] I can say with absolute certainty that we will submit to the will of the majority.

Political Issues

Kostikov Denies Rumors of Sergey Filatov Dismissal

LD2012180593 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1700 GMT 20 Dec 93

[Text] Vyacheslav Kostikov, Boris Yeltsin's press secretary, has refuted rumors about the impending dismissal of Sergey Filatov, head of the president's administration. In an exclusive interview with INTERFAX, he stressed that the suppositions that have have come up in some mass media in this regard are absolutely groundless.

Filatov To Prepare Parliament Session

LD2112100693 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0813 GMT 21 Dec 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent]

[Text] Moscow December 21—Sergey Filatov, head of the presidential administration, has been entrusted by Boris Yeltsin with creating an organisational center which will prepare the first sessions of both chambers of the new Russian parliament—the Federation Council and the State Duma, the press service of the Russian leader reported on Tuesday.

The Russian president also signed a decree transforming the Central Electoral Commission (which prepared the 1993 elections and referendum) into an independent and permanent body of the Russian Federation.

Jointly with the Justice Ministry, the commission has to draft lawbills on elections to the State Duma and on referenda in Russia and submit them to the president.

The decree stresses that the commission is independent from state bodies of power and its decisions are obligatory for fulfilment by all state and public organisations and officials.

Sacked Presidential Aide Kotenkov Gets New Appointment

LD2112095493 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0923 GMT 21 Dec 93

[By unidentified ITAR-TASS correspondent]

[Text] Moscow December 21 TASS—Aleksandr Kotenkov, who has been recently sacked as head of the legal department at the Russian president, was appointed by Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin as deputy chairman of the State Committee for Federation and Nationalities Affairs on Tuesday.

The committee is headed by Deputy Prime Minister Sergey Shakhray, the leader of the Party of Russian Unity and Accord, to which Kotenkov also belongs.

Kotenkov told TASS that he linked his dismissal by the president with his affiliation to Shakhray's party which refused to bloc with pro-Yeltsin Russia's Choice before elections.

Yeltsin Allegedly To Make Yakovlev Radio, TV Chief

LD2012191193 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1855 GMT 20 Dec 93

[Text] Moscow December 20 ITAR-TASS—Sources close to the Russian president told ITAR-TASS Boris Yeltsin had a conversation with septuagenarian Aleksandr Yakovlev on Monday to discuss his appointment as chief of the state radio and television company.

The post is vacant after the president sacked Vyacheslav Bragin and his deputy in the wake of the December elections, in which television is believed to have played a role that many view as far from being salutable.

Aleksandr Yakovlev won a name for himself as the father of glasnost under Mikhail Gorbachev.

TV Chief Ousted for Professional, Political Faults

PM2112110793 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 21 Dec 93 p 1

[Tatyana Akkuratova report: "Who Is Going To Be Head of Ostankino Now? Presidential Edict Relieves Vyacheslav Bragin of His Duties as Chairman of Ostankino Russian State Television and Radio Company"]

[Text] Bragin was subjected to constant criticism for unprofessionalism and vulgarity in his work probably from day one of his term of office at Ostankino. With his accession, the permanent breakdown of the broadcasting network became a sorry tradition, one in which scheduled broadcasts were replaced by completely different programs that were "necessary" for political reasons. It was at the Russian State Television and Radio Company chairman's behest that viewers were made to wait an extra six months before they could see "Schism," the interesting movie by Kolosov and Dobrodeyev (and then only under pressure from the press). Unable to withstand the political pressure, a large group of star t.v. reporters quit Ostankino Channel One this fall and created the independent television company NTV. Now thousands of viewers are watching the SEGODNYA news program five times a week and ITOGI once a week. But many people cannot watch them—NTV has managed to secure air time only on Channel Five, the St. Petersburg channel, whose reception area is considerably reduced. All the proposals to transfer NTV to Channel Four have been rejected by the top management of Ostankino. The t.v. company's latest flop was the tasteless and ludicrous show during the night of 12-13 December. So, from the standpoint of those who value our television service, the removal of Bragin is justified.

However, Bragin himself believes that his dismissal is a victory for members of the Ostankino council of directors, a small but influential group which enjoys the support of powerful financial structures and the lobby around the president and in the government, and who oppose the economic and structural reform of the Russian State Television and Radio Company as proposed by the company chairman. In particular, they regard the centralization of its publicity service as an encroachment on their influence.

All these factors surely did have a bearing on the Ostankino chairman's fate. Nevertheless, in our view the main reason for his dismissal was the unsuccessful organization of the election campaign. But is television alone to blame for that? As we know, the Central Electoral Commission put TV reporters in a difficult position—they were banned from commenting on speeches by party and bloc leaders. At the same time, as Sergey Yushenkov, first deputy director of the Federal Information Center, rightly noted in an interview for INTERFAX, "the t.v. screen provided an opportunity for people to spout lies both at a cost and for free." That is why he considers the charges against V. Bragin of unprofessional organization of television work during the election campaign to be unfounded.

Be that as it may, the Ostankino chairman's dismissal came right after the elections, which produced a surprise victory for the Liberal Democratic Party of Russia. Now people in the TV service are speculating as to who is going to replace Bragin. Pray God his replacement is a professional, not just some politician that the authorities want.

Further Firings, Shakeup at Ostankino Predicted

MK2112130093 Moscow KOMMERSANT-DAILY in Russian 21 Dec 93 p 3

[Mikhail Lashch report: "Resignations in President's Entourage. Another Three Presidential Aides Fired"]

[Text] Yesterday presidential edicts on removing from office three of the president's advisers—Valeriy Burkov, Eduard Dneprov, and Aleksandr Granberg—were released for official distribution. The dismissal of Valentin Lazutkin, first deputy chairman of the "Ostankino" state television and radio company, confirmed the view that the president has found those responsible for the democratic forces' electoral defeat. Also yesterday, the president signed an edict on appointing Ruslan Orekhov, former deputy of Aleksandr Kotenkov, chief of the Russian State Legal Administration.

High-ranking presidential administration staffers point out that the advisers' ousting is attributable to the administration chiefs' intention to gradually abolish the institution of presidential advisers altogether. According to some observers, the outgoing advisers will be given just as high posts at the presidential staff because all of them are Boris Yeltsin's staunch allies.

According to reports from informed sources, the ousting of Valentin Lazutkin, first deputy chairman of "Ostankino," is related to the fact that he headed a commission on covering the electoral campaign. Hence, it can be inferred that it is not Vyacheslav Bragin who is to blame for numerous blunders in covering the campaign, but his deputy. "Moreover, there have been some considerations confidential in nature that have been revealed in Lazutkin's activity," an "Ostankino" staffer said to your KOMMERSANT-DAILY correspondent. KOMMERSANT-DAILY has learned that today the highest Russian political leadership will embark on a drastic reorganization of the "Ostankino" company, on the basis of which a Federal Information Service will be set up. Academician Aleksandr Yakovlev has been tipped as the new powerful information agency's possible chief.

Ruslan Orekhov, who will now head the State Legal Administration, does not have commitments to any political groups. According to administration staffers, the quality of edicts and directives will improve upon Orekhov's appointment. Commenting on the new appointment, a high-ranking member of the presidential administration noted: "At any rate, Orekhov will not rush in wearing sweat pants to save Yakubovskiy from Stepankov." With regard to the latest dismissals, the staffer said that in his view Sergey Filatov is the next to go from the presidential administration and that he will probably be replaced by Gennadiy Burbulis or Yuriy Yarov. "I think that not only will Sergey Filatov be fired, but also Democratic Russia members entrenched in the presidential administration will follow him, including Vyacheslav Volkov, Nikolay Medvedev, and Sergey Krasavchenko," the well-informed presidential staff member believes.

Yeltsin May Form Three New Media Bodies

LD2112114193 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1113 GMT 21 Dec 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Tamara Zamyatina]

[Text] Moscow December 21 TASS—In the near future Russian President Boris Yeltsin may decree to establish three new bodies which will run the affairs of the press, and to abolish the existing Information Ministry and the Federal Information Centre.

On Tuesday ITAR-TASS learned from a reliable Kremlin source that these include the Federal Committee for Television and Radio Broadcasting, the Federal Committee for the Press and Information, which is to replace the Information Ministry and the Federal Information Centre, and a Department for Mass Media under the Russian president.

Yeltsin Aide Explains Staff Reshuffle

LD2012161393 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1504 GMT 20 Dec 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Tatyana Zamyatina]

[Text] Moscow, 20 Dec—As the political conditions change, so the president's team has to be rebuilt, Yuriy Baturin, an aide to the Russian president, told ITAR-TASS today.

The main reason for the personnel changes among Boris Yeltsin's staff, he said, is a lack of professionalism. The presidential aide believes that the 12 December elections were a test of the professionalism of members of the president's staff and of the heads of federal authorities.

Baturin used the same concept of professionalism plus lack of political ambition to explain the criterion in Yeltsin's decrees on new appointments. Ruslan Orekhov, the new head of the State Legal Directorate, in particular meets this requirement and is inclined toward solely legal work without any taint of politics. If a state official gives priority to political activity in his work, then the duties he should be performing slip to second place, the presidential aide concluded.

It is worth noting that the president is increasingly favoring, not his regular advisors but members of the Presidential Council, who have honorary status; in particular ethnic political analyst Emil Pain, regional politics specialist Leonid Smirnyagin, and Georgiy Saratov, director of the Center for Applied Political Research. Trustworthy sources in the Kremlin are not ruling out the possibility that these analysts might soon take up posts in the president's administration.

On 21 December, the day before he is to hold a news conference, Yeltsin is planning to invite several members of the Presidential Council for a discussion with a restricted group of people on the post-election situation in Russia.

Paper Views Staff Reshuffles; More Predicted

PM2112091793 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 18 Dec 93 p 1

[Stas Stremidlovskiy article: "If the Party Is a Flop, Change the Girls, Not the Furniture, Arkadiy Volskiy Said, and There Is Every Indication That the President Agreed With Him"]

[Text] This week the Russian president's press service announced almost simultaneously that Boris Yeltsin had signed edicts relieving Sergey Stankevich, the Russian president's political adviser, and Aleksandr Kotenkov, head of the Russian president's State-Legal Directorate, of their posts. A corresponding directive appeared regarding Vyacheslav Bragin, chairman of the Ostankino Television and Radio Company.

No official reasons were given as to why this trio no longer found favor with Boris Yeltsin, except that in Vyacheslav Bragin's case there was a reference to a letter from the Ostankino Board of Directors to the Russian president pointing to Bragin's incompetence, which was particularly manifest during the election campaign. During a conversation with your KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA correspondent Sergey Stankevich "nobly" took the blame: "I have no illusions abut my ability to influence the course of events, but that does not wipe out my responsibility. You are accountable for your own and other people's mistakes. I do not think that this is the end of it. This is part of a cadre regrouping. The question is whether the democrats will manage to refrain from settling scores with one another."

The president is maneuvering—that was how his press secretary Vyacheslav Kostikov commented on these edicts in one statement. And the maneuvers are of course connected with the new political reality.

The reasons for these and previous cadre reshuffles by Boris Yeltsin can be divided into two groups. First, the president would like to strengthen the state apparatus with reliable supporters and at the same time get rid of "fifth column" agents. Second, he would like to sacrifice to the opposition his unpopular radical proteges, thus confirming his reputation as a man capable of compromise.

The former proved ruinous to functionaries Sergey Stankevich and Aleksandr Kotenkov from the Party of Russian Unity and Accord [PRUA]. It is no secret that the Russian Government is a coalition government. Although Boris Yeltsin did not declare his overt support for ministers from "Russia's Choice", it is obvious that they are his main support in the current cabinet. And after the unsuccessful debut by "Russia's Choice," the president can hardly allow himself the luxury of having managers in pro-presidential forces' executive structures who oppose him, albeit slightly.

In view of the support for the PRUA from Russian Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin and leaders of the old sector clans, the rival party will try to rake up any compromising material on its rivals.

The dismissal of Ostankino Chief Vyacheslav Bragin should probably have reassured democratic citizens unhappy at the limp coverage of the election campaign that led to Zhirinovskiy's victory.

However, in the opinion of observers, more reshuffles in the president's entourage may follow in the near future. Risky hypotheses are being voiced that Sergey Filatov, head of the Russian president's administration, who is associated with taking an active part in suppressing the 3-4 October mutiny, may be sent into temporary retirement and Gennadiy Burbulis may take his place.

Reshuffle Could Have 'Destabilizing' Effect

PM2112111393 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 21 Dec 93 p 3

[Vladimir Yermolin report under "Events and Commentary Postskriptum" rubric: "President's Team of Advisers Continues To Shrink. Principle of 'The Smaller the Better' in Action"]

[Text] Most observers regard the series of resignations of state officials from the president's entourage after 12 December as a "fact of working life"—an inevitable and natural adjustment of personnel "in connection with newly revealed circumstances." It is not hard to observe that the well-known political figures relieved of their posts by the Russian Federation president's edict include those who, to put it simply, were not in the "Russia's Choice" bloc.

First and foremost they were presidential adviser Sergey Stankevich and Aleksandr Kotenkov, chief of the Russian Federation president's State-Legal Administration. Ruslan Orekhov has been appointed to replace the latter. Incidentally, both "resigners" were in Sergey Shakhray's election bloc.

It is not hard to guess that the bringing of new blood into the ranks of the president's advisers and administration will continue. This would be entirely logical, because no matter how the results of the Federal Assembly elections are interpreted, it is quite obvious that the nationwide (even if a little over half of Russians voted) expression of the people's will by no means yielded the predicted political results. And to some extent this requires making course corrections. That is, we have a case whereby the abundance of mistakes provides a rich opportunity to learn from them.

In the last few days Russian Federation presidential advisers Valeriy Burkov, Aleksandr Granberg, and Eduard Dneprov have been relieved of their posts.

The series of dismissals will, of course, create fertile soil for rumors and, I would go so far as to say, for "nervous-paralytic action." That is, people are trying to use the shakeout atmosphere to jangle the nerves of their political opponents in high office. It cannot be ruled out that certain political forces will try to use the natural process of bringing new blood into the president's entourage merely to remove influential competitors from the president's team. The normal process of qualitatively improving this team will then become the latest destabilizing factor in society.

Post-Election Kremlin Infighting Seen as 'Micro-Coup'

MK2112112093 Moscow SEGODNYA in Russian 21 Dec 93 p 1

[Sergey Parkhomenko report in the "Details" column: "The Elections Smoke Has Not As Yet Cleared....The Office Versus the Administration"]

[Text] The new era of the "Fifth Duma" (indeed an era, no matter how short-lived it might be) augurs for Russian public life a period of profound political precariousness. Contrary to widespread expectations, political forecasting will not be reduced to merely calculating the number of deputy mandates controlled by various political forces.

The inconsistency of a simplified approach is showing with every passing day in, among other things, attempts to explain the nature of the wave of resignations that is slowly gaining momentum in the Kremlin apparatus. It is absolutely impossible to reduce these developments to the aspiration by the head of state to "apportion the guilt for the split in the democratic ranks," take revenge on the "Shakhray- and Yabloko-type renegades," and also to punish those who have "messed up their assigned areas of election work."

The developments on the cadre front in the presidential entourage has only consolidated this opinion. Today, only the firing of Ostankino Chairman Vyacheslav Bragin and his first deputy Valentin Lazutkin can be regarded—even so, with many qualifications—as reaction to a professional failure in the course of the election campaign. The rest, including the troubles that have befallen presidential advisers Stankevich, Granberg, Burkov, Dneprov, and State Legal Directorate chief Kotenkov, are related to the election results only in the sense that the political system regards any nationwide balloting as a force majeure—and therefore any misappropriation or mismanagement is conveniently and easily written off to it as to a fire, flood, or robbery. In this case, what is being ascribed to the elections are the long overdue resignations, and in the post-election turmoil the tight knots of long-lasting conflicts are being successfully untied.

Sources in the Kremlin are almost at one in saying that the most powerful driving force behind the cadre evolutions in the federal executive apparatus is the rivalry between the two cohabiting structures: The administration of the Russian Federation president, headed by Sergey Filatov; and the president's personal office, [kantselyariya] actually led by Viktor Ilyushin.

The equilibrium which barely emerged after several months of the two teams' coexistence was sharply upset by the election results. The fact is that the administration apparatus, whose composition has for a long time been replenished with deputies evacuated from the Supreme Soviet, will now have to sustain irreplaceable cadre losses. A great number of fairly prominent figures in it preferred to return to the parliamentary domain and, after obtaining deputy mandates, now have to part with their posts in the executive structures. Other personalities—not so significant by themselves—will obviously not be able to stay in their offices in the absence of influential patrons.

Mr. Ilyushin's officers, made wise by the many years experience of apparatus intrigues, related with far greater equanimity to the option of testing their forces in parliament. But now they are apparently going to use their entire mastery to make sure that their modesty is duly compensated—by an appreciable and preferably irreversible shifting of the administrative power focus toward this group of Kremlin personnel, which today is even narrower than before.

At this stage already the hitherto mighty Security Council, the group of presidential speech writers, and analytical and information services have passed to the undivided control of the presidential office.

Quite naturally, the target of apparatus aggression was primarily the last of the entrenched veterans from among the "early democrats." The above mentioned invalids of the Khasbulatov war are already feeling the effects of tough pressures. After them presumably will come the turn of representatives of the last, final "call up," who one fine morning woke up with the rank of presidential advisers, consultants, and heads of auxiliary administration subdivisions.

Therefore, there is every reason to believe that in watching the "heads rolling as soon as election returns were announced," we are actually witnessing a banal micro-coup of which the Kremlin court has seen many.

Yeltsin Signs More Edicts, Decrees

On Central Electoral Commission

LD2112102993 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 0900 GMT 21 Dec 93

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] President Boris Yeltsin has issued an edict on measures to further improve the electoral system of the Russian Federation. The document envisages transforming the Central Electoral Commission—which conducted the present elections and voting—into the Central Electoral Commission of the Russian Federation [Tsentralnaya izbiratelnaya kommissiya—TsIK]. The decree stresses that the TsIK is independent of other state bodies, and the decisions it makes within its jurisdiction are binding upon all Russia's state bodies, public associations, enterprises, institutions, and officials. All unspent finances allocated for conducting the elections and for voting on the draft constitution are left at the TsIK's disposal. The Central Electoral Commission will be located in the complex of buildings on the Staraya Ploshchad.

Details of Edict

LD2112130493 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 0819 GMT 21 Dec 93

[Text] Moscow, 21 Dec (ITAR-TASS)—Russian President Boris Yeltsin has issued an edict "on measures to further improve the electoral system in the Russian Federation." The document envisages transforming the Central Electoral Commission for elections to the State Duma of the Russian Federal Assembly in 1993 into the Central Electoral Commission [tsentralnaya izbiratelnaya kommissiya] (TsIK) of the Russian Federation. The decree says that the Central Electoral Commission heads the networks of electoral commissions formed to conduct elections to federal bodies of state authority, referendums, elections to representative bodies state authority in krays, oblasts, cities of federal significance, autonomous oblasts and autonomous okrugs; the commission works on a permanent basis.

The Central Electoral Commission, together with the Russian Justice Ministry, has been instructed to draw up and submit to the president a draft federal law on election of deputies to the State Duma and a draft federal constitutional law on referendums in Russia.

Pending the adoption of new legislation on elections, TsIk is to be guided by the existing statute on election of deputies to the Federation Council of the Federal Assembly and the statute on election of deputies to the State Duma while conducting new elections in the constituencies where the elections did not take place or were ruled invalid as well as by-elections.

The decree stresses that TsIK is independent of other state bodies. The decisions it makes within its competence are binding upon all state bodies, public associations, enterprises, institutions, and officials.

All unexpended finances allocated for conducting the elections and voting on the draft constitution are left at TsIK's disposal.

On Military Regulations

PM2112092393 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 18 Dec 93 p 1

["Announcement by the Russian Federation President's Press Service"]

[Text] As already reported, the Russian president's edict "On Ratifying the General Military Regulations for the Russian Federation Armed Forces" signed 14 December this year has been submitted for distribution. Through this edict, B.N. Yeltsin ratified and decreed the entry into force as of 1 July 1994 of the Russian Federation Armed Forces Interior Service Regulations, Disciplinary Regulations, and the Manual of Garrison and Guard Duties. The Russian president has also tasked the Defense Ministry with ratifying and bringing into force the Russian Federation Armed Forces Drill Regulations. This was reported by the Russian Federation President's Press Service.

These decisions are prompted by the fact that the existing Russian Federation Armed Forces General Military Regulations were ratified by the Russian president 16 September 1992 on a provisional basis. It was also necessary to bring them into line with the Russian Federation Laws "On Military Duty and Military Service" and "On the Status of Servicemen" which were adopted at a later date.

B.N. Yeltsin extended the application of the General Military Regulations to border guard, internal, and railroad engineer troops, and civil defense troops; military construction units; servicemen from state security organs; the State Guard Administration; the Russian Federation Presidential Security Service; the Federal

Agency of Government Communications and Information; and other Russian Federation ministries and departments.

The edict in question entered into force from the moment of signing. The Russian president also decreed that it be submitted for examination by the Federal Assembly.

On Far North Regions

LD2012183193 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1700 GMT 20 Dec 93

[Text] By decree of President Boris Yeltsin the territories of the Belomorskiy, Kalevalskiy, Kemskiy, and Loukhskiy rayons of Karelia have been given the status of regions of the Far North. In the same document the territories of 11 rayons in Karelia as well as the towns of Kostomuksha, Petrozavodsk, and Sortavala are designated as locations equivalent to those of the Far North.

On Job Priority

PM2112104393 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 18 Dec 93 First Edition p 1

[Aleksey Portanskiy report: "Russia Introduces Controls on Migration and the Use of Foreign Labor"]

[Text] The Russian Federation president's office distributed Friday morning the texts of two edicts signed by Boris Yeltsin—"On Measures to Introduce Immigration Controls" and "On Recruitment and Utilization of Foreign Labor in the Russian Federation."

There is no need to dwell particularly on the importance of these acts of legislation. We would merely note that the first is even somewhat belated. The huge migratory flows brought about by the collapse of the USSR, wars, declining living standards in certain areas, and the uncontrolled entry into Russia of representatives of countries in the wider world have seriously complicated the social situation in a number of cities and population centers around the country.

Under the document signed by the president the main tasks of immigration control—the responsibility of the Russian Federation Federal Migration Service—will be to control the entry into the country of foreigners and stateless persons seeking asylum or transiting, to register and account for them, to take measures to prevent uncontrolled migration (including organizing the deportation of foreigners in appropriate cases), and to examine asylum applications from foreign citizens and stateless persons arriving in Russia.

The Federal Migration Service is to submit for ratification by the Russian Federation Council of Ministers within one month a statute on immigration controls on the Russian Federation state border, coordinated with the Russian Federation Security Ministry, Ministry of Internal Affairs, and Justice Ministry.

Given the material difficulties which the Federal Migration Service constantly faces, it is important that the edict lays down how spending on the creation of immigration checkpoints and temporary holding areas for migrants will be financed out of republic budget funds allocated for the implementation of the migration program.

The second document enshrines the priority right of Russian Federation citizens to claim vacant jobs. In return for authorization to employ foreign labor, employers will have to pay a levy of at least one month's pay for each foreign worker employed.

For employing foreign labor without the appropriate authorization employers will be held responsible under the procedure laid down by Russian Federation legislation.

Those foreign citizens who have traveled to Russia in order to carry on professional activity and who have been accepted for work in violation of the statute on recruiting foreign labor into the Russian Federation will be deported from the Russian Federation at the employer's expense.

Both edicts will be submitted for examination by the Russian Federation Federal Assembly.

Economic Issues

Fedorov Optimistic About Economic Prospects

PM2012134593 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 18 Dec 93 p 1

[Article by Finance Minister Boris Fedorov under the "Economy" rubric: "Government Should Not Renounce Financial Stabilization Policy"]

[Text] I see no real reason at the moment to dramatize the election results. The people who have been elected to parliament will, I hope, have enough common sense to unite and work constructively for the good of Russia.

The main thing to avoid is zigzags in the course of reforms. The principal avenue of this movement was correctly chosen, and I do not think that it is necessary to reject the levers and mechanisms whose application enabled us to achieve highly encouraging results in the work on economic and primarily financial stabilization.

What are these indicators? The most basic is that the budget deficit for 1993 will not exceed 10 percent of GDP. This can already be stated firmly. Federal budget revenues will be firmly held at the level of 15-16 percent of GDP, and expenditure at 20-22 percent of GDP. Millions of Russians are already experiencing the benefits of the reduction of inflation to 15 percent. And in the last week of November inflation in general fell to a record low—1.6 percent.

Russia's exports have been exceeding its imports by $2-2.2 billion dollars for six months now, and a Russian's average wage has increased from $7 in January 1992 to $85 this November.

If the government, once its composition is modified to take account of the election results, summons up the civic courage and political will to continue the reforms now under way, we will have a stable ruble and a working financial system by 1994, which will be a trampoline for the growth of the country's economic potential and the economy's revival on a new market basis.

At any rate, this is the road that Japan, Germany, and the United States have traversed. And it is evidently the road Russia will have to traverse as well.

Comments on Reformers

PM2012162993 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 21 Dec 93 First Edition p 1

[Report by Yuriy Kovalenko on interview with Finance Minister Boris Fedorov in Paris; date not given: "Minister Fedorov Does Not Rule Out Reformers' Departure From Government"]

[Text] "If Russian economic policy changes I do not rule out the departure of 'Russia's Choice' from the government. It is a question of whose side the president and whose side the prime minister will take. We have a parliament, and maybe we will be replaced by a government coalition of Communists, Agrarians, and 'Women of Russia,'" IZVESTIYA's correspondent was told by Russian Finance Minister Boris Fedorov, who participated in the Paris meeting of representatives of the heads of state and governments of the seven most developed Western countries.

"If the course of reforms is disturbed and the handing out of money and the 'Ukrainianization' of our economy begin, why should we, 'Russia's Choice,' take responsibility for it? The warning signals are already there.... As it is, we have taken responsibility for a huge number of compromises both last year and this year."

Fedorov does not rule it out that soon he himself will not be finance minister: "I have never clung to my portfolio."

But as a current government member, Fedorov handed G-7 representatives in Paris a message from Boris Yeltsin which reaffirms the firm course for economic reforms and financial stabilization.

No panic associated with the Russian election results was observed at the G-7 session, Fedorov noted: "We agreed that they are the result of the inconsistency of the reforms." To a considerable extent the minister considers the hysteria raised primarily in our country to be unfounded. Maybe 10 percent of the last parliament were reformers. There will be a minimum of 30 percent in the new parliament.

According to the minister's assessment our relations with the IMF are more or less normal. If the country's annual results are good, talks with the IMF will take place in January, and it is realistic to expect receipt of the second part of the systemic credit—$1.5 billion—in February. But we are no longer discussing the situation in Russia on the basis of the principle of "quick, give us the money." It is not a question of money but of real improvements in our policy and in its success. It is a question of whether we are going forward in the right direction.

The finance minister sees signs of this movement forward in the fact that "the ruble has turned into money." In the last year the dollar in Russia has become devalued by a factor of three or four, and those who were "hanging onto it," as Boris Grigoryevich put it, "have lost a great deal." Liberalization is almost complete, the minister went on. Import subsidies have been scrapped. An increase in production has started in consumer sectors.

It is also a positive factor that Russia has already been invited to the next G-7 leaders' meeting in 1994 in Naples. This will be the fourth meeting in succession in which Moscow's representatives have participated. A tradition is taking shape which, we hope, will in time turn the G-7 into the G-8. Finally, its mission in Moscow is opening.

Our debts were also discussed in Paris. New talks with the Paris club, which unites state creditors, are evidently due to begin in February. True, some problems with the LondonCclub (commercial banks) have simply not been solved.

"I advocated a transition from three-month debt-payment deferments, from a short-term policy, which is very bad, to a medium-term one, so that we can at least see about five years ahead. So that agreements are signed which will tell us for years in advance exactly how much we have to pay and how we are gradually going to crawl out of the pit of debts." As regards the differences discussed in the press between the finance minister and Vice Premier Aleksandr Shokhin in relation to who should deal with questions concerning our foreign debt, according to Fedorov no such differences exist. The debt is a matter for the Finance Ministry. One person, even if he is the deputy head of government, cannot deal with it.

Chernomyrdin Signs Resolution on Economic Reforms

LD2012191693 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1800 GMT 20 Dec 93

[Text] Russian Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin has signed a resolution to adjust certain components of the government program for 1993-1995 for the development of reforms and the stabilization of the Russian economy. The head of the Cabinet says this step will have to be taken due to the social and economic situation in the Russian Federation at the end of the outgoing year and the need for expanding economic reforms in 1994 and improving coordination in implementing them.

Prime Minister Chernomyrdin instructed First Vice Premier Oleg Soskovets to develop, in two weeks' time with the participation of all the ministries and agencies concerned, a package of measures necessary to adjust the concept of restructuring and industrial policies, proposals for government support for priority industries, and for closing down ineffective industries already in the first quarter 1994.

Prime Minister asked First Deputy Prime Minister Yegor Gaydar to draw up proposals for institutional reforms in the economy and the development of enterprise and market infrastructures.

The Prime Minister also formulated specific tasks for Vice Premiers Boris Fedorov, Anatoliy Chubays, Yuriy Yarov, Aleksandr Shokhin and Sergey Shakhray, and the Central Bank and other federal agencies.

Instructs Deputies To 'Finalize Plans'

LD2012215493 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 2110 GMT 20 Dec 93

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin has instructed his deputies to specify and finalize plans for work in the branches in their charge. The prime minister has signed a decision on developing reforms and stabilizing the Russian economy. According to INTERFAX, the head of cabinet motivates this step by the socioeconomic situation in Russia at the end on this year and the need to deepen economic changes in 1994.

Further on Instruction

LD2112104493 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1000 GMT 21 Dec 93

[Text] Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin has issued an instruction to adjust [skorrektirovat] the course of reforms and the program for stabilizing the economy in 1993-1995. The Interfax agency reports that Chernomyrdin said such measures were necessary in view of the changed social and economic situation in Russia and also for the development of reforms in the coming year.

The Russian prime minister has instructed First Deputy Prime Minister Yegor Gaydar to prepare an adjusted draft of the economic reform.

Meanwhile, Finance Minister Boris Fedorov has warned of the dangers of government subsidies to economically weak enterprises. Fedorov said that he and a number of other reformist ministers would resign if reforms are abandoned.

Soskovets, Gaydar Tasked

LD2112125093 Moscow Radio Moscow World Service in English 1200 GMT 21 Dec 93

[Text] Russian Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin has instructed his cabinet to correct the course of reforms and prepare an economic stabilization programme for the period till the year 1995. This has been reported by INTERFAX news agency. It says Mr. Chernomyrdin regards these measures as necessary under the present economic and social situation in Russia. First Deputy Prime Minister Oleg Soskovets has been given two weeks to sort out a refined concept of industrial policy. Another first vice-premier, Yegor Gaydar, is to submit proposals on the development of free enterprise and market infrastructure.

Council of Ministers Discusses Privatization

PM2012142993 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 18 Dec 93 p 1

[Unattributed report: "Coalition Clarifying Relations"]

[Text] At yesterday's session the Russian Federation Council of Ministers Presidium approved in principle the draft state program for the privatization of state and municipal enterprises in Russia. Members of the presidium will spend a further week working on the document before it is submitted to the president for ratification at the end of the week.

Unlike the 1992 privatization program, the present one considerably expands the rights of the regions in the work to promote denationalization and takes deeper account of the sectoral specifics of privatization. The document is based "on a conception of privatization not as an end in itself but as the means of implementing reforms in Russia and restoring production as a whole."

While initially approving the document as a whole, the participants in the session put forward many addenda to it and made comments on it connected largely with the mechanism for the privatization of state property in individual sectors and regions.

The discussion became more acute after Yegor Gaydar's speech. The vice premier acknowledged that in fact this program will be in force before 1 July 1994—that is, before the vouchers cease to be valid. Then, he said, "the very concept of privatization will change radically" and in particular the rights of labor collectives in the implementation of privatization will be reduced. The vice premier also talked about the impermissibility of creating a "legal vacuum for privatization" and about delay in adopting this program until the Federal Assembly begins work.

There were a number of fairly harsh speeches in response to this. Konstantin Buravlev, deputy head of the Moscow Government, stated bluntly that "there is no absolute necessity to adopt the program in just six months." He also blamed the State Committee for the

Management of State Property, saying that "the rules of the game are now being set at the center but the social consequences of those privatization decisions are being felt at regional level." There were also opinions expressed on the unjustified large privileges for check investment funds included in the draft program.

Summing up the discussion, First Vice Premier Oleg Soskovets, who chaired the session, urged participants to assess privatization from the standpoint of the goal of "boosting the social thrust of the reforms and increasing the efficiency of industry" and not get bogged down in unnecessary discussions. On his suggestion it was decided to submit the program to further work in the light of all the proposals that had been made and complete it within a week.

At this session the Russian Council of Ministers Presidium postponed for one week the adoption of a decision on the President's draft edict on changes to the taxation of legal persons.

A report on the discussion of this document which took place at the Chamber of Trade and Industry can be found on page three.

Businessmen Debate Draft Edict on Corporate Taxation

PM2112112993 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 18 Dec 93 First Edition p 3

[Report by Igor Fedorov: "Entrepreneurs Objected, but Unsuccessfully"]

[Text] The first public examination of the draft presidential edict on the taxation of corporate bodies has taken place in the Russian Federation chamber of commerce and industry. But the meeting seems to have been unable to influence changes in the document.

The lively interest of the assembled representatives of insurance organizations and exchange trade, bankers, and leaders of entrepreneurs' associations in the problem of taxation is understandable. But what does "public examination" have to do with it? After all, we are more used to a situation in which the authorities issue laws and law-abiding citizens merely fulfill them—without any discussion! But times are changing. An example is the new powers of the Russian Federation Chamber of Commerce and Industry, determined in accordance with the law on chambers of commerce and industry: They must conduct independent examinations of the drafts of normative acts in the field of the economy, foreign economic relations, and on other questions affecting the interests of enterprises and entrepreneurs.

Since the subject was a topical one, the debate was so heated that Deputy Finances Minister Sergey Aleksashenko, representing the government side, on several occasions even tried to leave the inhospitable auditorium.

The heatedness of the Russian business representatives had an explanation: A normative document is to be published which substantially changes the established system for levying taxes from corporate bodies. But serious objections have been heard to putting them on the same level as representatives of the production sphere as regards income tax. In the opinion of the experts, this situation could have a fatal effect on the fate of young unconsolidated companies.

Another position of the draft is the introduction of the so-called stamp duty for written applications from enterprises and organizations to federal organs of legislative and executive power (it amounts to the cost of the minimum monthly wage for a page). In the entrepreneurs' opinion this form of swelling the budget is utterly unjustified today when the majority of our normative acts involve remittances and are vague in the way they are set out.

And another thing: The draft demonstrates a new approach toward the problem of fiscal federalism, dividing profit tax rates between the central (13 percent) and local organs of power (up to 30 percent). But those assembled voiced the opinion that the tax sum delegated to the components of the Federation is excessively high.

In addition point 8 of the draft president's edict defines favorable tax terms for the first two years of the activity of small enterprises in the production sphere although the actual term "small-scale production" is not defined in the draft.

How did the discussion end? And was it needed at all if the deputy minister had stated unequivocally that despite the complaints voiced the president's edict would nonetheless be published in just a few days?

Today it is hard for our entrepreneurs to keep afloat on the sea of economic problems, especially as the problem of our legislation's imperfection is a millstone round their necks. Normative documents in our country in the overwhelming majority of cases obviously express the interest of only one side, the state side, which publishes them. Is it not for that reason that the taxation system is now of a uniformly fiscal nature and is in no way geared toward encouraging commodity production? Yet the discussion showed that the majority of Russian entrepreneurs are law-abiding and ready to pay their taxes in full—as long as their opinion is considered, with law and order being created in the state. And our businessmen do have an opinion—it was this that the state side finally learned at the public examination at the Russian Federation Chamber of Commerce and Industry.

Unused Credit To Pay Some Debts to Gas Suppliers

PM2112120593 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 21 Dec 93 First Edition p 2

[Rustam Arifdzhanov report: "Former Soviet Republics' Debts to Gas Workers To Be Paid Out of Russian Loans"]

[Text] The Russian president has issued an edict "On Measures to Reduce the Former USSR Republics' Debts for Supplies of Fuel and Energy Resources in 1993."

Russian gas workers are owed money not only by their domestic partners and the government. The nonpayments crisis that has caused strikes in the North has been partly brought about by the fact that Russians are also owed money by many of their former comrades in the USSR. There is virtually nowhere for them to find the money independently. But the "Gazprom" needs to be paid—the Russian economy is suffering above all from this lack of money. It seems as if a solution to the matter has been found.

The president's edict envisages that Russian Federation state credits to the former Soviet republics which have not been used in the current year will go to pay off the debts. The Russian Government has been instructed to coordinate as quickly as possible with the debtor-countries' governments the size of the state credits to be channeled into repaying these debts. The text of the presidential edict disseminated by the president's press service envisages that the "Gazprom" will make an advance payment to the budget of half of the earnings from the sale of output supplied to the former Soviet republics and paid for by state credits issued by Russia in December 1993. The edict comes into force from the day it was signed—that is, 18 December—but will subsequently be submitted for examination by the Federal Assembly.

Gas workers can be somewhat reassured—their debts are starting to be repaid, albeit by this method.

Military & Space Issues

Defense Ministry Collegium Discusses Nuclear, CW Issues

PM2012162193 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 18 Dec 93 p 1

[Russian Federation Defense Ministry Information and Press Directorate report under the "Yesterday" rubric: "Session of the Russian Federation Defense Ministry Collegium"]

[Text] Questions regarding the nuclear safety levels of nuclear munitions and nuclear weapons in the Russian Federation Armed Forces, and progress in fulfilling the Russian Federation Government-Council of Ministers directive and the Russian defense minister's order on carrying out primary tasks to fulfill international commitments in the sphere of chemical disarmament were examined at a Russian Federation Defense Ministry Collegium session 17 December 1993.

Need for Funds To Update 'Nuclear Shield' Noted

PM2112143993 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 21 Dec 93 First Edition p 2

["Declassified" article by Anatoliy Vystrobets: "Using the Nuclear Briefcase for...Banging in Nails"]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] **On Starvation Rations**

By the beginning of the seventies, when the crisis of nuclear confrontation between the USSR and the United States was assuming menacing proportions and the Americans were starting to station their Pershings in West Germany (their flight time to Russian cities and industrial facilities was 5-6 minutes), the Soviet political leadership set the experts the problem of creating a reliable system of strategic nuclear forces command and control.

The collective of scientists and development engineers at the scientific research institute for automatic apparatus, whose director was Academician V.S. Semenikhin, set about implementing the uniquely complex project. It was Vladimir Sergeyevich who suggested creating scientific-technical centers, each of which would handle its part of the project. This method was productive in a number of areas. Gifted and experienced leaders were brought in to run the centers. They were able to form the best specialists into a cohesive team. The boundary between science and production was erased. The studies were conducted on the basis of home-produced components. Nearly all the leading specialists participated directly in the field tests. Moreover, each of the employees, knowing or suspecting what the system's ultimate purpose was, realized that he was participating in the creation of a shield whose presence would cool the ardor of any nuclear hawk. [passage omitted]

The system has been operating for nine years now and none of the units has malfunctioned. The very powerful radar system protecting the frontiers of Russia and its neighbors, the ramified network of communications via space and the troposphere, and radio relay lines and wire communications are all working for it. And the sudden failure of any component or unit will in no way affect the functioning of the system as a whole. Each of the components is reliable and is triple-redundant.

In the Soviet Union the president, defense minister, and the chief of the General Staff were entitled to possess a "nuclear briefcase." With the breakup of the Union, the Russian Federation president and commander in chief of the CIS armed forces became "nuclear briefcase" holders (now it is the Russian president and Russian Federation defense minister). At the same time, severe financing problems arose. Meanwhile the system, although posessing a large safety margin, is subject to wear and tear and obsolescence, like any other.

"The part of the military-industrial complex that deals with automated control systems and cannot cater to civilian needs is in dire straits," one of my interlocutors said. "Because of the shortage of funds the Russian Federation Defense Ministry cannot even pay the usual advances that are necessary. I concluded a contract with a manufacturer. So I had to pay immediately. But with what? I had received an advance, but there was no money. Then, when the equipment was made, I was presented with the bill. But the money we had put up when we concluded the treaty had lost its value. So at some stage the 'nuclear briefcase' had turned into an object which was a burden, but which we begrudged abandoning."

Patience Has Its Limits

In recent years the world has undergone major changes. There is no Soviet Union, and the confrontation between the superpowers that threatened to plunge the world into the abyss of nuclear conflict is no more. But Yugoslavia's wounds continue to bleed. There is war in the Caucasus. The situation in Central Asia is complex. There are now three nuclear powers on the territory of the former USSR—Russia, Ukraine, and Kazakhstan. China, France, and Britain have nuclear missiles. Other countries are hankering after nuclear weapons. The chief nuclear power—the United States—is rapidly improving its own weapons.

So can Russia be complacent? The recently proclaimed Russian military doctrine appears not to give any grounds for concern. It postulates the building of a strong, well-armed, mobile, modern Russian Army, capable of operating in any conditions. But what about the "nuclear briefcase" in the new conditions?

"The system was created in accordance with the accepted doctrine at the time: A retaliatory nuclear strike. It had a built-in nonaggression factor. In other words, the nuclear shield will remain a shield in the new conditions, its sole task being to safeguard the state's nuclear security. As long as strategic nuclear weapons exist, the command and control system must also be retained."

That is the experts' opinion. And it is absolutely essential to have a clear decision on what kind of system it should be: either reliable and old but obsolescent, or just as reliable but new and shaped in accordance with all the modern realities and achievements in science, technology, and production.

The political decision must be followed by a decision on the provision of materials, equipment, and finance for research and production work. Many organizations involved in the development of the system are now economically accountable.

But nothing needs to be invented. The professional experts' proposals that have lain all this time on the desks of ministry officials were in fact examined, approved, and adopted. But they were linked with other programs, and have therefore since been consigned to oblivion.

Time is passing. Many of the employees are staying on at the institute out of a sense of duty and patriotism, not thinking about themselves.

"Unless urgent decisions are made, we could get a situation where the 'nuclear briefcase' is only fit for banging in nails," the angry chief designer said.

SU-25 Military Aircraft Crashes Near Krasnodar

LD2112061093 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0506 GMT 21 Dec 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Igor Belsky]

[Text] Moscow December 21 TASS—A SU-25 aircraft of the Krasnodar military flying school crashed near Krasnodar during a training flight on Monday. The crew bailed out, an officer on duty at the Russian Federation State Committee for Emergency Situations told ITAR-TASS.

The plane fell in the area of the airfield. The initial information, which reached the committee, that the aircraft fell onto urban residential blocks adjacent to the school has not been confirmed, the spokesman added. There was no loss of life or damage to buildings.

Staff Officer on 'Shame' of October Events

PM2112095193 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 18 Dec 93 p 4

["Extracts" of interview with unidentified "high-ranking General Staff officer" by Sergey Turchenko; place and date not given: "Black Victory. Confession of General Staff Officer"]

[Text] In mid-October the editorial office received a telephone call from a high-ranking General Staff officer, who asked to meet with a journalist on "neutral territory." He agreed to record his tale on a dictaphone on just one condition—that the newspaper not reveal his name for the time being. We publish extracts from the 90-minute dictaphone recording.

[Officer] I must say that a fairly contradictory attitude toward Yeltsin's Edict No. 1400 developed immediately within the Defense Ministry, the General Staff, and the troops. Deplorable as it is to admit, the edict split the Army. Some generals and top officer personnel began to say: Is the edict right or wrong, is it legal or illegal? Some generals thought it was illegal. Needless to say, no sociological studies or polls were carried out on this, but Defense Ministry officers who visited the troops after the edict was adopted reported to the General Staff that there was a very contradictory attitude to the edict among the troops. Many people hoped that the authorities would have enough sense to arrive at a normal civilized method of resolving the conflict.... But when the tough actions began around the White House, when it was cordoned off with barbed wire and the lights were switched off, military analysts and experts immediately foresaw an attempt to use military force. Nevertheless hope remained until the end that tanks would not enter Moscow and weapons would not be used. The Army did not want bloodshed.

[Turchenko] On what grounds do you draw that conclusion?

[Officer] After 21 September letters addressed to both Yeltsin and Khasbulatov arrived from districts and fleets, letters that are still being kept secret now. All the letters were screened and sorted by top men at the Ministry. Those supporting Yeltsin were sent to him. Letters supporting Khasbulatov sank into the depths of the Ministry. An insistent request prevailed in the letters—that the conflict be resolved peacefully. When bloodshed occurred and the situation was turned upside-down it was said that the letters and cables had been sent by anonymous people.... What actually happened? This all needs to be further investigated....

[Turchenko] From my observations, the explosion of popular protest came as a surprise not only to the government but also to the Supreme Soviet. Let us remember the events. At 1300 hours the All-Russian Assembly gathered in October Square. The OMON [Special-Purpose Militia Detachment] began an unprovoked attack on unarmed people. This sapped the gathering's patience. Thousands of people marched against the OMON. And neither cudgels, rubber bullets, nor tear gas could stop the crowd any longer. En route they were joined by more and more people. At around 1530 hours this mass filled the whole area around the House of the Soviets. Then a group of OMON men and someone in the City Hall building began firing assault rifles at the unarmed people. The bloodshed brought the custodians of order to their senses. I saw them move in columns led by commanders toward the White House. The authorities began to drastically lose support. It was only intervention from the Army—on the side of those who ordered shots to be fired on unarmed people, moreover—that decided the outcome. How was the Army embroiled in this bloody business?

[Officer] The events that you have described have received terribly conflicting coverage in the press. There has been plenty of disinformation and conjecture.... I can attest that the top brass "joined in the events" at 1430 hours 3 October. Members of the Defense Ministry Collegium, admittedly not all of them, began to meet at 1400 hours. By 1700 hours all leading officers of Defense Ministry directorates and departments had been summoned. But at that time, as far as I am aware, the generals did not want to embroil the Army in the conflict. The full membership of the collegium session did not even adopt any operational decisions although there were plenty of telephone calls from the president's entourage demanding that an immediate decision be adopted on bringing in the troops, contrary to what Grachev had been saying on oath for 18 months: The Army is outside of politics. The moment was approaching when it was necessary to transgress this oath.

[Turchenko] When and how did it happen that the Army rushed into politics aboard tanks?

[Officer] This may be considered to have happened after B.N. Yeltsin personally came to the Defense Ministry collegium at 2300 hours 3 October. Convoys of armored personnel carriers had by that time formed up from the Kremlin Gate to the Defense Ministry building on Arbat Square. The president and his retinue came to us by way of this armored corridor. An hour-long debate began at the collegium. I must point out that at the previous session (1700 through 1900 hours, which Yeltsin did not attend) one collegium member called for the question of bringing in the troops to be put to a vote. In response the minister said categorically that anyone who disagreed with the president's policy could leave. No one left. You can easily imagine the fate of anyone who had left....

During the nighttime session the president raised the question of the need to use the troops. I would remind you that it was already 2300 hours! And as an officer of the General Staff I can say that the troops were already outside the Defense Ministry (the 27th Separate Brigade, for instance, was there at 2120 hours). In practice the question of whether or not to bring in the troops was decided before the nighttime collegium session began. It was for all intents and purposes merely necessary to observe the formalities. In practice the question of bringing in the troops was decided at the "truncated" collegium at 1400 hours, and that also needs to be investigated....

[Turchenko] Did the troops really not hesitate in going to attack their unarmed fellow citizens?

[Officer] You know—this has already been leaked by the mass media—the chief of staff of one of the Kantemir Division's tank regiments, when he was approached by an emissary from the president's apparatus, simply closed the door to the unit on him.... There were also collective manifestations of readiness to defend the Constitution....

[Turchenko] Was a plan formulated to storm the House of the Soviets?

[Officer] At first it was planned to storm it at 0200 hours 4 October. The president and his entourage both agreed to that plan. Grachev starkly objected, saying that in the dark the military might start firing on one another. Army General Kobets, deputy defense minister, insisted on this timeframe. There are rumors that he telephoned the president's office on several occasions saying that the minister was "demoralized" and proposing that he be given sole command and control. It is dangerous to trust rumors, but here are the facts: Kobets was appointed head of the staff to suppress the revolt. And Colonel General Volkogonov was appointed his assistant.

As a result of Grachev's insistence the assault was postponed until 0650 hours 4 October. It is important to point out that at the nighttime collegium Grachev said that it was not up to the Army to storm this building

—there is the Dzerzhinskiy Division, and other troops with the appropriate equipment and training.... This statement elicited an adverse response....

[Turchenko] Nonetheless the Army came and started firing from tanks. What tanks were these? Who were their crews?...

[Officer] The public pinpointed two tanks, numbers 348 and 350. According to our data, they belong to the Kantemir Division.... The tanks were driven by ensigns, while officers did the firing. There are reports that some platoon commanders refused when ordered to take the gunners' place. Senior officers did the firing. Their names are of course being kept secret. For their relatives they are listed as missing, as it were, but in fact they have evidently been transferred to new jobs. It is all tragic and sad.... A sad maxim is going around the General Staff and the Defense Ministry: The new Russian Army has been baptized in a battle with its own people. It is hard to realize that. Only bad things are now being said about our brothers. Officers are said to be heartless mechanical people, who serve just for money and posts. I would very much like Russian people not to think that. Let them know that the people who carried out the order were placed in tough positions. We Russian officers and the Russian Army have indeed done our own people a very great wrong, and that is hard to take.

[Turchenko] What is the mood like in the General Staff? What are your feelings now?

[Officer] I must admit that since 4 October most Ministry and General Staff officers have gone to work in civvies. Does that tell you anything? It has become dangerous and shameful to wear an officer's uniform. As for the mood. The Russian top brass are now hiding their true patriotic feelings. Imagine a Russian general who harshly condemns the regime at home in front of his wife but at work says: That's right, that's how opposition should be suppressed. Those are our brave generals for you.... Colonels and lieutenant colonels—I have not met a single one who approved the October bombardment of parliament. I am not talking about junior officers. From them you only hear that the conflict could after all have been resolved in a humane manner. If the constitution is a bad one—change it. If the parliament is a bad one, let the people vote for another one. But there is no need to get the guns out. That is what officers are saying.

[Turchenko] There are rumors that the commander in chief of the Ground Forces and the commander of Moscow Military District have been removed from their posts.... What is behind these rumors?

[Officer] These generals are being charged with being sluggish and losing their head. I do not think that there will now be any decisions to remove them. The Army must be shown to have been united and under control in October. But conclusions will be drawn and I think that the Defense Ministry collegium will be 25-30-percent renewed.

[Turchenko] How are the authorities reacting to the current sentiments in the Army?

[Officer] I was indeed indignant that a week after the events the General Staff began to compile lists of rewards for officers and generals "to boost morale." What are these "carrots"? Early promotions, advancements, valuable gifts,—watches, radios, all manner of glitz. What can this attempt to "boost morale" elicit but disgust? And for what? For our going to work 3-4 October and heroically watching our Army fire on the people? I admire those officers who have demanded that their names be taken off these lists....

[Turchenko] Can they overtly give their names?

[Officer] We are regrettably in the paradoxical situation where the defenders of the people are even afraid to say that they are ready to defend their people. Don't be in any hurry to judge us harshly. An officer is sitting before you. Tomorrow I could be thrown out and deprived of wages.... I have three children. I don't have any housing.... Where will I go? This is a typical picture in the army today. I tell you, that is why I turned to the editorial office because I am ashamed to serve in this kind of an Army....

[Turchenko] Your father was a front-line officer. He served in the Army that victoriously entered Berlin in 1945 and you are serving in the Army that entered Moscow in 1993....

[Officer] This is a very difficult subject.... I buried my father a long time ago. But my mother telephoned me 5 October. She said things to me that I could not answer. For the first time in my life I could not talk to my mother.

[Turchenko] What do you intend to do now?

[Officer] What do I intend to do? Many people are now leaving the service, a mass exodus is now being recorded.... What is to be done? Would that we knew what to do.... The paradox is that we have stopped being the people's army, and become, as the foreign press says, government troops. When did we become government troops?! We are maintained by the people's taxes. I should defend the teacher, the medic, and the steel worker, but I am forced to kill them.... Legal reasons are being produced for embroiling the military in civil war.

What is to be done? What should we expect? The only hope is that our people will be able to acquire a normal government that will express the interests of the working people and not a handful of the bourgeoisie. Then the Army will really become a people's army. And we will serve in it with pride, and I am confident that we will never permit the shame and disgrace of October 1993....

Cosmonauts Conduct Experiments Aboard Mir Space Station

LD2112104293 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1005 GMT 21 Dec 93

[Text] Mission Control Centre December 21 TASS—The orbital complex Mir is in space flight with cosmonauts Vasily Tsibliyev and Aleksandr Serebrov on board.

The science part of the crew's programme this week includes experiments on space material studies, geophysical and astrophysical experiments.

The smelting started on gallar apparatus on December 17 was completed. A monocrystal of semiconductor gallium arsenide with an improved structure was grown in 72 hours.

Under a programme of geophisical studies the cosmonauts have carried out another sycle of photography of separate areas of land and the ocean along the route of the flight.

A series of experiments with the use of the magnetic spectrographer Maria was conducted to study further the mechanism of the generation of charged elementary particles.

On Tuesday the crew is to prepare for operation the technological unit optison meant for the manufacture of semiconductor materials in weightlessness by a method of crucibleless welding in space. Also planned are experiments to measure the intensity of ionising space emission and to assess the state of samples of building materials fixed on the outer surface of the complex.

According to reports from board the station and telemetric data, the flight proceeds normally.

Replacement Mir Crews Undergoing Flight Training

PM2112094793 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1535 GMT 16 Dec 93

[From the "M-Trust" program]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] [Unidentified correspondent over video of exterior of Gagarin Cosmonaut Training Center] Flight training of two new crews for the Mir orbital station is drawing to a close at the Cosmonaut Training Center. We already know the Derbenty [call sign of the main crew]—Viktor Afanasyev, Yuriy Usachev, and Valeriy Polyakov. The call sign of the second crew is Agaty. They are Yuriy Malechenko, Talgat Musabayev, and Doctor German Arzamasov.

Vladimir Dzhanibekov told us that the Derbenty were set a very difficult task on this occasion. The testers set them the following scenario: The commander has sustained severe burns on the wrist of his right hand; at the same time the voltage in the station's power grid has dropped sharply. This is an emergency situation. How will the crew act in these extreme circumstances? The "Derbenty" managed to get almost full marks. The specialists gave them 4.9 points on the 5-point scale. Meanwhile the "Agaty" were practicing a transport craft docking. They got 4.5 points. The crews' doctors are preparing for a record endurance flight. They will spend more than one year in weightlessness. [passage omitted]

Regional Affairs

St. Petersburg 'Antifascist' Resistance Movement Formed

PM2112101593 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 21 Dec 93 First Edition p 1

[Yevgeniy Solomenko report: "Antifascist Resistance Movement Born in St. Petersburg"]

[Text] St. Petersburg—"St. Petersburg Against Fascism"—it was under that slogan that representatives of the creative, scientific, and technical intelligentsia and the whole democratic public of the city on the Neva gathered in the assembly hall of the Movie Center here.

What is the secret of Zhirinovskiy's election success? Why did the democrats do so badly? It was said from the floor that one of the main reasons for this was that the democratic leaders are detached from the people and do not have the ability to speak to the people in a language that they understand.

"The problem is that there are democrats in Russia but no real democracy," writer Mikhail Chulaki said. "We tried to implant democracy on Russia from above, like putting on a hat. But the hat [shlyapa] proved to be a cap [kolpak]. In our country we have pseudoparties and not one of them has roots among the people. Politics must begin from the grass roots up, not vice versa."

Igor Soshnikov, cochairman of "Democratic Russia," also talked about the mistakes that had been made: "We made a number of mistakes in creating small blocs and small parties to satisfy our own ambitions. Now we must create a single, powerful all-Russia democratic party, put ambition aside, and make common cause together. Then fascism will not pass."

The assembly spoke in favor of creating a Committee of Resistance to Fascism and Totalitarianism. A proposal to organize an analytical center under the St. Petersburg union of scientists and the editorial office of the journal BARYER—the first and only antifascist journal in Russia—was supported.

The meeting addressed an appeal to all citizens of Russia: It called on them to unite in the pre-election bloc "Election-94" to ensure that people capable of defending the democratic transformations enter the local organs of power. There was also a proposal to prepare and convene a congress of all democratic parties and movements so as to form a united democratic party of Russia with a real base among the masses.

Representatives of the St. Petersburg intelligentsia demanded that the government and law enforcement organs take resolute actions to prevent fascist propaganda in all its forms and, in particular, institute criminal proceedings in connection with the publication of the notorious "Protocols of the Elders of Zion" in October's issue of MOLODAYA GVARDIYA. It has long been recognized throughout the world that the "Protocols" are a provocative forgery.

The resolution of the meeting "St. Petersburg Against Fascism" says: "Our duty is ensure that society does not gradually become accustomed to the ideas of overt and undisguised fascism. We must promote a long-term state policy with regard to those strata of society which were or may be the most susceptible to fascist influence."

The St. Petersburg Antifascist Resistance Movement came into being that evening in the assembly hall of the Movie Center.

Low Tatarstan Election Turnout Attributed to Constitution

PM2112113193 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 21 Dec 93 p 1

[Interview with Iskander Yusupov, Russian president's permanent representative in Tatarstan, by Yuliya Ulyanova; place and date not given: "Regions: Sovereignty 'Hurdle.' Why Voters Did Not Turn Out in Tatarstan"]

[Text] Fewer than 14 percent of Tatarstan's eligible voters turned out last Sunday. Thus, the elections were effectively invalid in the republic, which will not for the time being be represented in either the Federation Council or the State Duma. It appears from the Central Electoral Commission documents on the matter that repeat elections in Tatarstan will be held in the spring. Why the "hitch," and will the situation in the republic change over the next few months? Iskander Yusupov, the Russian president's permanent representative in Tatarstan, voiced his view of this during a conversation with your ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI correspondent:

[Yusupov] In the three years since Tatar sovereignty was proclaimed the republic's inhabitants have gotten used to the idea that their relations with Russia will have a special status. We adopted a Declaration of Sovereignty 30 August 1990 and day by day the concept of sovereignty has become imbued with real substance. A referendum was held, in which over 60 percent of the republic's inhabitants agreed that Tatarstan should be a sovereign state, a subject of international law, building its relations with Russia and other states on the basis of equal treaties. The next block in the foundation of Tatarstan's sovereignty was the republic's constitution, adopted 6 November 1992, enshrining the referendum results.

To sum this all up, we can say that sovereignty is not merely a declaration on the part of the republic's politicians, but the cornerstone of our sociopolitical life. Since the concept is missing from the new draft Russian Constitution, it is pointless, in our view, to give our view of that constitution: Tatarstan's inhabitants simply do not accept it; it does not, after all, fully coincide with their interests. This argument alone would be enough to explain the election results in Tatarstan. But there is also another. The new Russian Constitution does not carry a clear reference to the treaties on mutual delegation of powers between the center and the regions according to which our republic intends to build its relations with Russia. In the opinion of the republic's leadership, the chapter in the Russian Federation Constitution defining the national-state system should include a sentence to the effect that "the Republic of Tatarstan is a sovereign state, an object of international law, associated with the Russian Federation-Russia on the basis of a treaty on the mutual delegation of powers," that is, Article 61 of the Republic of Tatarstan Constitution.

Repeat elections in the spring could produce a different result. However, we think that it is not the Duma but the corresponding treaties with Russia that are more important for Tatarstan today.

Needless to say, many questions may be resolved via the Federal Assembly. But in terms of importance, a treaty with Russia is nonetheless number one on the list for us.

Khakass Parliament Cancels Elections, Prolongs Powers

LD2112093093 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0745 GMT 21 Dec 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Evgeniy Sobetskiy]

[Text] Abakan December 21 TASS—The Russian Republic of Khakassia in western Siberia, where the referendum on the Russian Constitution failed, decided to keep the old Soviet-era parliament despite the nationwide approval of the first post-Soviet basic law.

The local Supreme Soviet ruled on Tuesday to cancel early parliamentary elections scheduled for March 1994 and extend its powers for the whole of 1994 and a part of 1995.

Chairman of the Supreme Soviet Vladimir Shtygashev explained that the decision was caused "by growing contradictions in the reform process in the country and the republic after the recent elections and the referendum on the Constitution."

Karelian Election Results Seen as Contradictory

PM2112093393 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 18 Dec 93 p 1

[Correspondent Anatoliy Minayev report: "Karelia Sends President a Present]

[Text] Petrozavodsk—At a time when almost all of Russia's regions had preliminarily reported their election results by evening the same day, nobody in Karelia knew anything right up until 15 December. The northerners, who were repeatedly informed by Russian radio and television of the failure of the referendum on the constitution's adoption in the Volga region, North Caucasus sovereign republics, Mordovia, some Siberian regions, and the president's home territory, were lost in conjecture: What exactly is going on here?

The conjectures were well founded because the Russian government and president, who long before the elections promised to equate all Karelian territory with Far North regions, with all the ensuing benefits and privileges, took too long to solve this long-standing and thorny problem.

In all their pre-election speeches and statements, Karelian Supreme Soviet Chairman V. Stepanov and Council of Ministers Chairman S. Blinnikov, who are running for the Federation Council, consistently focused attention on the fact that they had put in a great deal of effort and time preparing this very presidential edict, would try to get it signed, and that they had already obtained B. Yeltsin's permission to leave up to 90 percent of federal taxes in Karelia's budget. Indeed, words did not differ from practice. In Karelia economic ties with bordering Finland are being rapidly developed, Russia's first international commercial railroad is being constructed, the window on Europe is being widened, and considerable investment in joint facilities and projects is being made. All this is associated with the support of B. Yeltsin, who has visited Petrozavodsk many times.

It must be said that the election results exceeded all predictions. Almost 70 percent of those who took part in the voting gave the green light to the president's constitution. Karelia is ahead of all Russia here. Republic leaders V. Stepanov and S. Blinnikov were victorious, winning seats in the Federation Council. But the Communists of Russia bloc almost failed, garnering a little over 6 percent. Is it not a mystery that while, for instance, Stepanov, who came from the heart of this party and scaled its heights, obtained an absolute majority of electors' votes, the party itself was an also-ran?

In short, Karelia is a republic of contrasts. To this day soviets in rayons and cities function smoothly here and parliament, which is assembling in a few days for the next session, operates smoothly. Inhabitants do not organize either strikes or protest rallies. Rather, they sympathize. But the same people have given a boost to "Russia's Choice," the Liberal Democratic Party, the Yavlinskiy bloc, and the Party of Russian Unity and Accord, which cannot stomach Soviet power.

Yeltsin Signs Edict on Kaliningrad Oblast Status

WS2012160193 Kaliningrad SVOBODNAYA ZONA in Russian 9 Dec 93 p 2

[Unattributed report: "Free, Free At Last!"]

[Text] It has happened! Russian President Boris Yeltsin signed Edict No. 2117 "On Kaliningrad Oblast" giving it a special status. It says that given the special geographic and economic situation of Kaliningrad Oblast, in accordance with Edict No. 1598 of the Russian President "On Legal Regulation During Gradual Constitutional Reform," and to ensure the efficient regulation of socioeconomic development of the region, the Russian Council of Ministers is advised to examine the issue of providing tax relief for investments [investitsionnyy nalogovyy kredit] to implement regional programs and to allocate budget funds for this purpose.

The edict relieves from taxes enterprises engaged in material production—growing and processing agricultural produce, manufacturing consumer products, and providing construction and repair services. Income tax rates are also reduced, and the portion of income invested into welfare plans becomes tax exempt.

The document envisions a considerable expansion of rights given to government institutions; in particular, in the sphere of granting land plots, the registration of enterprises, and the establishment of foreign companies' offices.

The region's material production and its exports are encouraged by freeing locally made goods from customs duties and the goods imported into the region from custom duties and the value-added tax.

The edict will be submitted later for approval by the Federal Assembly. The bottom-line conclusion: There are no obstacles for the free economic zone "Amber."

Head of Administration Comments

WS2112124393 Kaliningrad KALININGRADSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 10 Dec 93 p 1

[Commentary by Yuriy Matochkin, head of the Kaliningrad Oblast Administration, on the President Yeltsin's Edict No. 2117 'On Kaliningrad Oblast': "As We Have the Edict, We Must Act"]

[Text] We recently received Russian President Boris Yeltsin's Edict "On Kaliningrad Oblast." Although this document has been classified for official use only, I believe that it is necessary to comment on its key resolutions. I will begin with a general assessment on the edict. In general, this is a great step forward in the spheres of resolving Kaliningrad Oblast's problems and expanding the independence of local authorities. In particular, this refers to the issues of land reform, external economic relations, and other matters. The edict includes key resolutions connected with the legislation On the Status of Kaliningrad Oblast.

Work on the edict has continued throughout the year 1993. We began to work on the draft legislation "On Status of the Kaliningrad Oblast" immediately after receiving the edict "On External Economic Activities in Kaliningrad Oblast" in December of last year. In October of this year, when the legislative and executive authorities completed their work on the draft legislation, we proposed to codify key resolutions on the legislation in the form of an edict. The edict was signed very quickly, thanks to the help of First Prime Minister Vladimir Shumeyko.

The edict specifically provides that the budget of Kaliningrad Oblast be subsidized, and that over the next 10 years, the oblast receive subsidies for financing regional programs.

The system of preferential taxes, which was adopted earlier by the Oblast Soviet at the administration's recommendation, has also been approved by the president's edict. Enterprises entitled to such tax reductions have been specified. The approach is as follows: If an enterprise operates in the production sphere, it receives appropriate tax reductions. If it is a trade enterprise, it does not receive any reductions. The portion of enterprises' revenues that would be allocated for further investment in the production or social sectors would also be exempted from tax.

Significant progress has been made on the issue of land division. The distribution of land lots designed for federal, interregional, and oblast programs falls under the authority of the Kaliningrad Oblast Administration. Confiscation of land lots will be conducted by local authorities under supervision of the Oblast Administration.

The system of registering joint venture enterprises and issuing permission for opening foreign agencies has been simplified, and most importantly, it has been emphasized once again that exported goods are exempted from customs duty, and imported products are exempted from value added tax for the next 10 years.

The powers of local administrations have been broadened in the spheres of property and customs policy. In particular, it has been said that all regulations to be adopted by the State Customs Committee must be approved by the Oblast Administration.

It has been decided that all federal property located in the oblast will be handed over to the Kaliningrad Oblast Administration, with the exception of communication and Defense Ministry facilities.

The rights regarding the administration of national parks and other nature preservation facilities have been expanded.

The Foreign Ministry has been requested to consult with our administration on all international agreements connected with transit and other issues concerning vital interests of our oblast.

We have received additional rights but also additional responsibilities. An array of documents will be prepared in the near future. This means that certain resolutions provided by the edict are not direct. Now, departments and committees of the administration will have to work out necessary documents and submit them to the Cabinet of Ministers of the Russian Federation.

We can congratulate our entrepreneurs, farmers, managers of firms, organizations, and companies, as well as all citizens of the oblast who are involved in economic activities concerning this great step forward. Our goal is to take advantage of all the resolutions provided by the edict in the interests of Kaliningrad Oblast.

Editor Endorses Edict

WS2012144693 Kaliningrad SVOBODNAYA ZONA in Russian 11 Dec 93 p 1

[Editorial by Valeiy Biryukov, SVOBODNAYA ZONA editor in chief: "Russia's Fate Is in Our Hands"]

[Text] I think that by contrast with the rest of the Russian populace, it will be much easier for Kaliningrad residents to make their choice tomorrow at the elections. The recently issued president's edict "On Kaliningrad Oblast" offered so many opportunities for our region that it will take an extremely opinionated voter to say "no" to such a shining prospect.

One can hardly see this important document as a deft ploy engineered by the main candidates for the Federation Assembly, who were directly involved in its preparation. We stepped down this path five years ago—at a time when our oblast was off limits to everyone, when the Soviet Union seemed a monolith, and there could be no talk about any Russian enclave on the Baltic Sea. This was when a group of scientists set out to devise a concept of a free economic zone that could not be implemented until now.

I am afraid, however, that not everyone realized that we are living through our fifth day in a new time and economic space. We, the residents of Russia's Amber Land [nickname for Kaliningrad Oblast], have been offered a free hand to manage our own fate—and in the long run the fate of Russia, because on this little piece of land, we are planning to assemble an economic mechanism that could later become an example for the entire country.

I will not elaborate on each provision of the edict—all the more so that they are to be expanded into a government resolution. However, a careful reader has surely noticed one prominent feature of this document—the status that it gives us will allow us to dispose of the oblast's assets, attract Russian and foreign capital, and rapidly develop industrial and social spheres.

But we have already witnessed hard-won benefits being granted and then taken away as a result of bitter political fights. To preserve the present benefits, we—perhaps more than anyone in Russia—need political stability. Rejection of the draft constitution throws a question mark not only on this stability but also on the legitimacy of decisions made regarding our oblast. The frayed old Constitution perceived our oblast as a regular administrative unit of the Soviet Union.

Another issue is that the edict "On Kaliningrad Oblast" will have to be approved by the new parliament. This will not be an easy matter because many Russian regions want to have as many rights as we do. This is why it is so important as to who will represent our interests in the Federation Council and the State Duma.

Belgograd Introduces Moscow-Type Visitor Controls

LD2112115993 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1115 GMT 21 Dec 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Lev Konorev]

[Text] Belgorod December 21 TASS—Following the example of Moscow, authorities of Belgorod region (Russia) have introduced a new regime for visitors without Russian citizenship. This decision of the head of the region's administration was published in the local newspaper "BELGORODSKAYA PRAVDA" on Tuesday. Now, all the visitors from abroad, including those from the former Soviet republics, except neighbouring Ukraine, must register themselves at local passport and visa services of the Interior Ministry bodies within three days.

Permanent posts aimed at putting a stop to uncontrolled entry of foreign visitors to the territory of the region are being organized at railway stations and airports.

International Affairs

Kravchuk: Yeltsin Remarks To Have No Effect on Accords

LD2012191893 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1806 GMT 20 Dec 93

[From the "Presidential Bulletin" feature: prepared by Andrey Pershin, Andrey Petrovskiy, and Vladimir Shishlin, edited by Boris Grishchenko]

[Text]**NUCLEAR POSTURE AND PLEDGES FRIENDSHIP WITH MOSCOW**

Ukraine's President Kravchuk believes that the Russian President Yeltsin's remarks that "Ukraine fools the whole world on nuclear arms" have not affected and will not affect "the process of signing bilateral accords."

IF Note: Commenting on Kiev's nuclear stand at the recent meeting with U.S. Vice President Gore in Moscow, Yeltsin declared: "Ukraine is fooling us all. It is fooling the U.S., Russia, Europe, it is fooling the whole world, and we are so weak that we cannot do anything about it."

"There are obvious processes - he told journalists in Kiev - that no one can stop - neither Yeltsin, nor Kravchuk nor Zhirinovskiy. Any attempt to stop them is doomed to failure."

In the meantime, he remarked "I did not hear the president's voice." "What you sometimes write or say - he told journalists - is still not the reason for me to make any statements."

However, he admitted that Yeltsin "might have said so in a special situation, among certain persons." "I do not believe that the president meant precisely that by his remark, he declared. Nor can I believe that Boris Nikolayevich regards our state as deceptive." "Ukraine's relations with Russia have always been friendly and will remain such," Kravchuk stressed.

At the same time, he suggested that "it might have simply been a slip of the tongue or he might have said so in duress" in the current complex political situation, it is hard to restrain oneself from poignant statements, he remarked.

In his words, Ukraine has never given any pretext for such accusations.

U.S., Ukrainian, and Russian delegates discussed nuclear disarmament and relations between their countries at tripartite consultations last weekend. According the Ukrainian Foreign Ministry, the sides discussed the possibility of paying compensation to Ukraine for the uranium that fills the nuclear weapons withdrawn from the republic.

As the Foreign Ministry's Spokesman Yuriy Sergeev has told INTERFAX, the U.S. is beginning to act as a mediator in Ukrainian-Russian negotiations on the problem of nuclear arms deployed in Ukraine.

Government To Dismantle SS-24 Nuclear Missiles

AU2012173193 Paris AFP in English 1722 GMT 20 Dec 93

[Text] Kiev, Dec 20 (AFP)—Ukraine is to dismantle almost half of the 46 SS-24 nuclear missiles in its nuclear arsenal inherited from the former Soviet Union, Deputy Prime Minister Valery Shmarov said Monday.

He said Ukraine would dismantle 20 of the 46 strategic missiles by the end of this month.

The decision comes only days after last week's meeting of top Ukrainian, Russian and U.S. officials. Until now Ukraine has refused to give up the weapons without security guarantees from the United States.

Shmarov on Missile Deactivation

LD2012210693 Kiev UNIAN in Ukrainian 1800 GMT 20 Dec 93

[Text] Kiev—As UNIAN reported, on 16-17 December there were trilateral talks between the delegations of Ukraine, Russia, and the United States on issues connected with the ratification of START I by the Supreme Council of Ukraine. The leader of the Ukrainian delegation at the talks, Deputy Prime Minister Valeriy Shmarov granted an exclusive interview to a UNIAN correspondent.

As Shmarov emphasized, the date of the trilateral talks was not agreed in advance. A decision on the meeting of the delegations of the United States, Russia, and Ukraine was taken promptly. The visit to Moscow by U.S. Vice President Albert Gore probably gave an impetus to holding the meeting. During Albert Gore's meeting with the Russian leadership, the issue of nuclear armaments was touched upon.

However, as Valeriy Shmarov pointed out, Ukraine was precisely insisting on holding trilateral talks, being convinced that this would be the most effective form of achieving agreement on START I ratification and implementation. Therefore, the fact that such consultations did take place and that they will be continued in the future can be regarded as the first success. The resolution of the Supreme Council of Ukraine on the ratification of START I, with the reservations formulated by the Ukrainian parliament, was the first and foremost issue discussed at the consultations.

Ukraine's representatives had an opportunity to clearly comment on these reservations. These, as a matter of fact, represent that working plan according to which the parliament and the government of Ukraine have to work so as to achieve "pure" ratification of the treaty. The members of the Ukrainian delegation emphasized three main issues concerning which Ukraine hopes to find understanding with the partners: Obtaining political guarantees from nuclear states; gaining compensation for nuclear weapons transferred from Ukraine, tactical weapons in particular; and receiving technical and financial assistance in the implementation of the disarmament project.

Most understanding was reached on the issue of compensation for tactical nuclear weapons. For the first time ever a proposal was formulated: To solve the issue through Russia writing off Ukraine's debts for energy. However, this decision was not approved because, in the opinion of the participants in the talks, it is necessary to discuss these issues in greater detail with experts.

As far as strategic weapons are concerned, the energy uranium required by Ukraine's nuclear power stations was offered as compensation. In case this issue is solved in a positive manner Ukraine's needs for this raw material would be satisfied for 5 years. Such a mechanism is acceptable in principle and technical coordination has been planned. The issues of compensations for the tactical and strategic nuclear weapons were discussed as one package.

Today it is still early to mention any specific sum because no final calculations have been made and they have not been coordinated with experts. Ukraine's representatives believe that these could amount to hundreds of millions of dollars because, according to average world prices, for example, the price of one kilogram of highly enriched uranium is $15,000.

According to Valeriy Shmarov, the U.S. and Russian sides are concerned most of all about the issue of Ukraine's pace in fulfilling the provisions of START I, in particular, deactivation of the latest SS-24 missiles. Ukraine takes a clear stand: One can immediately talk about the types [as received] after the reservations formulated by the Supreme Council are fulfilled.

Already today Ukraine is making specific steps toward nuclear arms reduction: The deactivation of SS-24 missiles is under way—17 such missiles have been withdrawn from combat duty and put under control, and by the end of the year their number will reach 20. As a matter of fact, two regiments will be disarmed. This is evidence of Ukraine's course toward a non-nuclear status. It is ready to further continue this work but it hopes for adequate moves on the part of the partners, the United States and Russia. In particular, Valeriy Shmarov remarked that the pace of elimination of nuclear weapons in Ukraine depends very much on financial assistance. At present it is insufficient. The aid is mainly rendered in the form of consultations, and delivery of computer or space communications systems. The following problems, however, remain unsolved: What is to be used to transport the dismantled warheads, where is the fuel to be taken, and where is the money to come from?

The Ukrainian side does not shrink from the opinion that $2.5 billion should be spent on complete nuclear disarmament, including the social protection of servicemen, restoration of order on the territories, etc. Today, due to the economic crisis, it is difficult for Ukraine to shoulder such a burden and at the same time to abide by the fixed terms. However, the members of the Ukrainian delegation emphasized that despite the economic difficulties the START I treaty will be unconditionally fulfilled. If Ukraine raises the issue of financial aid, then it only has in mind speeding up the pace of nuclear weapons elimination. Ukraine will further carry out voluntary disarmament under conditions of universal support.

According to the deputy prime minister, the current consultations failed to formulate the issue on political guarantees in a clear-cut manner. However, he expressed satisfaction with the relatively high level of representation of the delegations which took part in the negotiations and also the high level of competence of the experts who arrived with the U.S. and Russian delegations. As Valeriy Shmarov indicated, he hopes that by such a composition it will be possible to draft a document that can be submitted to the top leaders of the states for signing.

The participants in the meeting agreed to continue their work in one month's time. However, the Ukrainian representatives are today already preparing information based on the materials of the consultations for Ukraine President Leonid Kravchuk, because at the meeting of the CIS heads of state in Ashgabat the Ukrainian side intends to raise materials from the trilateral talks for a dialogue between the Russian and Ukrainian presidents, although the discussion of this issue was not planned in advance.

Deputy on Aid From Russia, U.S.

AU2112103093 Paris AFP in English 0939 GMT 21 Dec 93

[Text] Kiev, Dec 21 (AFP)—Ukraine claimed Tuesday the United States and Russia offered to erase energy debts and supply fuel for the country's nuclear power plants in exchange for the atomic weapons on Ukrainian territory.

Deputy Premier Valeriy Shmarov also confirmed that Ukraine had already removed 17 of the 46 modern SS-24 missiles it possesses from their silos and had disconnected their nuclear warheads. Each has 10 warheads.

Shmarov, the government's point man on nuclear disarmament, told AFP the United States had proposed that Ukraine receive free fuel for its nuclear power stations for the next five years as compensation for giving up the 176 strategic missiles it possesses.

"This is a big step by all sides towards reaching a compromise," Shmarov said.

He stated that the United States had also proposed that Ukraine's estimated two billion-dollar debt to Russia for energy supplies be erased to compensate for the smaller tactical nuclear weapons withdrawn from Ukrainian territory by May 1992.

Shmarov said Russia had agreed to the scheme. Russian officials declined to comment.

He said that within 10 days another three SS-24s will have been deactivated as a "goodwill gesture" by Ukraine.

Shmarov stated that Kiev may consider the deactivated SS-24s as among the missiles it agreed to get rid of under its qualified ratification of the 1991 START treaty.

"We retain the view that the missiles representing the biggest ecological danger must be destroyed first," Shmarov said, referring to 130 older SS-19 long-range missiles.

Ukraine signed agreements last year in which it pledged to respect the START treaty, accede to the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty and get rid of all the nuclear weapons on its soil.

The Ukrainian parliament however ratified START earlier this year with the stipulation that it only applied to 42 percent of the 176 strategic nuclear missiles from the former Soviet arsenal based in the country.

Official Assesses Human Rights Violations, Compliance

WS2012143093 Kiev KIEVSKIYE VEDOMOSTI in Russian 10 Dec 93 p 3

[Interview with People's Deputy Sergey Golovatyy, chairman of the Ukrainian Association of Lawyers, by Lidia Yakovenko; place and date not given: "Sergey Golovatyy: 'Ukraine as a State Is Not Ready To Observe Human Rights'"]

[Text] What about the situation with human rights in Ukraine? This is the subject of my interview with People's Deputy Sergey Golovatyy, chairman of the Ukrainian Association of Lawyers.

[Golovatyy] A lot is being said about human rights. In particular, it is a beloved topic of our high officials. To my regret, Ukraine is one of those post communist states where we can observe numerous violations of human rights.

[Yakovenko] How do they manifest themselves?

[Golovatyy] In my opinion, Ukraine is not ready to observe human rights—both from the viewpoint of demands of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, and clauses of various European agreements. You know that Ukraine has applied for European Council membership. However, a state should have a new constitution that guarantees implementation of human rights formulated in numerous international agreements. This is the first requirement. The second requirement presumes the holding of democratic elections on a multiparty basis. However, this is not foreseen in our new constitution. In addition, the draft constitution deprives millions of Ukrainian citizens from participation in passive suffrage [passivnoe izbiratelnoe pravo; the right to be elected]. I mean a provision which says that the minimum age-level for Supreme Council deputies is 25 years. The suffrage age-limit is established by national constitutions (for example, in many European countries, it is 21 years). According to the current Ukrainian Constitution, people come of age at 18. Hence, the establishment of two age-limits—for passive and active suffrage [aktivnoe izbiratelnoe pravo; the right to vote]—is anti constitutional.

Next, before a state becomes a member of the European Council and enters a single European space of protection of human rights, its court system should be reformed and lawyers should acquire "independence." Ukraine does not meet these requirements.

It is well known that a state is always the main violator of human rights because it opposes the individual. However, the state should at least try not to violate human rights. To my regret, our state does not meet this requirement. In any case, I do not want to be accused of speaking evasively. Let us discuss the issue of freedom of worship. In particular, the situation around the Ukrainian autocephalous church. Believers of this church demand its registration. Is this an anti-Ukrainian or a fascist organization? For one year, this religious organization has been waiting for its registration. We see that the interests of state officials on different levels dominate the rights of millions of people.

Such behavior by state officials and the lack of legal knowledge within the Supreme Council strongly affect mass consciousness on the subject. People do not believe in laws because they see that the state is used to violating legal norms. The violation of laws by the state is occurring, and it has even increased of late. I am a lawyer and a people's deputy and receive many letters from my electorate. People demand judicial assistance. They write letters to me because they cannot find support anywhere.

[Yakovenko] Can you be more specific: What human rights are being violated?

[Golovatyy] I receive many letters about illegal dismissals from work. This transition period is literally used by employers for firing "inconvenient" people. Housing is the next sore issue. In addition, I receive many complaints from prisons and penitentiaries. In general, people address me with appeals that should not occur in a democratic state. New court and barrister systems should start working more efficiently. However, they have not undergone any changes yet. So, can we speak about good intentions of building a law-governed state? This is a simple declaration of our leaders.

[Yakovenko] How do people address their letters to you?

[Golovatyy] Some 90 percent of letters begin with the words: "You are a well-known lawyer and we have listened to your Supreme Council reports.... I do not like such appeals. Currently, I am not working as a lawyer, I am a people's deputy. However, I am trying to answer all the letters that I receive.

[Yakovenko] What can the Ukrainian Association of Lawyers do to protect human rights?

[Golovatyy] Our current work is directed toward the future. We would like to aid our state in the implementation of judicial reforms. We cannot do this ourselves because we are a public organization. We are seeking to raise financial support among Western states. These resources could be used for the implementation of reforms within court and barrister systems, and legal education. We would like to open a judicial library. It is strange but our officials do not consider it to be an urgent necessity. Why? Both ordinary people and experts need such a library. Currently, new laws are not published in separate books, except in mass media. In the past, the laws were published in abundance. How can you speak about the protection of human rights if the state does not provide its citizens with necessary information on their legal rights?

Our association works for the good of our people but not for the good of the state. I oppose performing service to a state. I am not a statesman. I encounter numerous problems in this sphere. Please note that an ordinary Ukrainian citizen meets with a dilemma: On the one hand, he is oppressed by the communist past which still lives in almost every Ukrainian official, and on the other hand, he is dominated by a movement that was previously called "anti communist" but currently supports the state. The latter justifies itself by claiming that it is fighting for Ukrainian statehood. Personallly, I cannot blame this trend. However, this should not be done at the expense of a person's rights. It is common with us that those people who in the past had been suppressed and imprisoned are currently blaming us for protecting human rights. They claim that protection of human rights is harmful for the establishment of the Ukrainian statehood.

No. Fighting for human rights does not harm the process of building the state: If we have declared that we are building an independent, legal state, we should remember that it means that the individual is the main figure in this process and the state's interests should be subordinated to the individual's.

[Yakovenko] Does this mean that you are not optimistic about Ukraine becoming a law-governed state?

[Golovatyy] Quite on the contrary. If we did not believe, we would not be dealing with legal issues which are within our state's competence.

[Yakovenko] When, in your opinion, will Ukraine approach the world standards in the sphere of protection of human rights?

[Golovatyy] The first step will be made when Ukraine is registered as a European Council member. In this case, we could hope that European norms of protection of human rights will start working within Ukraine. When is this going to happen? When a new constitution is adopted.

Consulate General Opened in Belgrade

AU2012124293 Kiev URYADOVYY KURYER in Ukrainian 18 Dec 93 p 1

[Report by the Information Administration of Ukraine's Ministry of Foreign Affairs and UKRINFORM: "Ukraine's Consulate General Has Been Opened"]

[Text] On 15 December, Ukraine's Consulate General in the FRY was opened in Belgrade. Ukraine's deputy minister of foreign affairs V.M. Lipatov took part in the official ceremony. Representatives of diplomatic missions, famous political figures, and representatives of the Ukrainian community were present at the opening.

National Affairs

Crimean Supreme Council Chairman Meets Fleet Officers

AU2112100993 Kiev HOLOS UKRAYINY in Ukrainian 18 Dec 93 p 1

[Unattributed report: "M. Bagrov in Sevastopol"]

[Text] On 16 December, chairman of the Supreme Council of the Crimean Republic M. Bagrov visited Sevastopol and met with Black Sea Fleet commander E. Baltin, officers of the Black Sea Fleet, and servicemen. He stated that he did not arrive in Sevastopol as a candidate for the Crimean Republic's presidency, that the Crimea will never again be what it used to be within the USSR, and that the peninsula has no economic foundation for being fully independent. M. Bagrov also stated that he was opposed to the idea of transferring the Crimean capital to Sevastopol. As regards the offer, provided one is made, to become a member of the Black Sea Fleet Military Council, he would be only too happy to accept it.

With regard to the recent assassination of Captain First Rank A. Lazebnikov, chief of the fleet press service, many officers express surprise at the fact that the Supreme Council chairman did not even mention him in his speech. In this connection, the Black Sea Fleet Press Center issued a statement according to which it reserves the right to use a number of concrete measures if the law enforcement organs remain inactive: Over the past two months, three senior fleet officers have perished.

Officers' Union Conference Appeals to Defense Minister

AU2012172493 Kiev MOLOD UKRAYINY in Ukrainian 17 Dec 93 p 1

[Appeal by participants in the Third Conference of the Kiev Organization of Ukraine's Officers Union to

Ukraine's Minister of Defense: "To Put an End to Arbitrariness and To Defend the Honor and Dignity of Patriot Officers"]

[Text] We, participants in the Third Conference of the Kiev Organization of Ukraine's Officers' Union, have gathered at this time, which is difficult and trying for Ukraine, in order to consolidate our ranks and determine constructive trends of our work for the period of formation of our own armed forces. We fully support your vision of the future of the Ukrainian Army, a vision that you expounded in your speech at the festive meeting in honor of Ukraine's Armed Forces Day.

As members of a public patriotic organization, we will do everything possible to implement this program. However, we are concerned about the fact that individual leaders of military formations do not understand the significance of Ukraine's Officers' Union or your remarks regarding its activity and, for that reason, they do not build their relations with this organization in correct manner. The introduction of the state language in troops is hampered, and the pressure upon patriotic officers grows. They are threatened with dismissal to the reserve.

We appeal to you, Mr. Minister, if your policy speech is really meant to ensure our state's security, we ask you to put an end to the arbitrariness on the part of the reactionary group in the military leadership and defend the honor and dignity of patriotic officers.

The Kiev organization of Ukraine's Officers' Union will continue conducting its work in such a way that it will be useful for the Ukrainian State and its armed forces.

Long Live Ukraine!

Government Approves National Program on Drug Abuse

LD2012234793 Kiev UNIAN in Ukrainian 1345 GMT 20 Dec 93

[Text] Kiev—As a UNIAN correspondent learned from trustworthy sources today, the Ukrainian Cabinet of Ministers has approved a resolution "on a national program of counteracting drug abuse and their illegal use for the period 1994-97." In compliance with the program ministries, departments, and local state administrations are obliged to envisage expenditures in their budgets for 1994 for the program's implementation. Ukraine's Foreign Ministry is entrusted to appeal to the UN Secretariat with a request for currency in order to finance the program.

It is envisaged to draft laws on regulating the rules of using narcotics and psychotropic substances, and creating a system to counteract the illegal use of narcotics. A number of ministries and committees are proposed that will submit their proposals for the government's consideration on the possibility of deducting income from the sale of strong liquors and tobacco in order to finance the program, on concluding international agreements with relevant services in foreign countries, on setting up a single inter-departmental database on persons involved in the illegal use of narcotics, and on setting up independent units within the structure of the Ministry of Internal Affairs to combat drug business, etc.

Party Comments on Possible Introduction of Hryvnya

AU2012153293 Kiev HOLOS UKRAYINY in Ukrainian 16 Dec 93 p 4

[Unattributed report: "Elections Instead of Mutiny"]

[Text] Ukraine's Constitutional Democratic Party [KDPU] has issued its political committee statement in connection with the administrative price hike and ban on granting credits by banks. These government measures are characterized as "defiance of economic laws" and "duplication of pernicious socialist methods of economic management," that will only do harm to the state's economy because they will not contribute to the budget.

The KDPU believes that the introduction of the hryvnya under such conditions is a measure "no less criminal than expropriation," because it will transfer all economic ills from the "temporary" coupon to the "real currency." In the opinion of the KDPU, the difficulty of the economic situation in Ukraine lies in that "all political options for changing the situation have been exhausted. The demands that the Cabinet of Ministers and the president resign are, in fact, meaningless, because the present Supreme Council is incapable of forming a good government." According to the KDPU, the authorities are provoking citizens to resort to illegal ways of resolving the problems, and it is only elections, wherein citizens can make their choice, that may constitute an alternative to this.

New VOST Leadership To Join Election Campaign

LD2112103593 Kiev UNIAR in Ukrainian 0830 GMT 21 Dec 93

[Text] Kiev, 20 Dec—The new leadership of the All-Ukrainian Association for the Solidarity of Workers (VOST) that was elected at an extraordinary congress declared its intention to take part in the election campaign. On this issue, VOST leaders will seek understanding with the Popular Movement [RUKH], democratic parties, and free trade unions. Arkadiy Vovchuk, the new leader of the association, said that, following the congress, VOST had almost 50,000 members at 57 enterprises in 16 oblasts of Ukraine.

Statistics on Minorities Reviewed

WS2012153393 Kiev RATUSHA in Ukrainian 11 Dec 93 p 2

[Report by Vitaliy Zhuravskyy: "National Minorities: Yesterday, Today, Tomorrow"]

[Text] The Ukrainian "Law on Minorities" is one of the most democratic in the world. The Ukrainian state guarantees the freedom of creativity, free development of culture, and access to cultural valuables. The state policy is directed toward the implementation of spiritual and cultural demands of national minorities, revival and development of national languages, cultures, and traditions in Ukraine. The Ukrainian Cabinet of Ministers has approved the state program for the development of education of the national minorities. According to 1989 statistics, 51,400,000 people of some 110 nationalities live in Ukraine. Ukrainians account for 37.4 million people, that is, 73 percent of the entire Ukrainian population. Some 11.4 million Russians make up the most numerous ethnic group among the non-Ukrainians. The Republic of Crimea, Lugansk, Donetsk, Kharkov, Zaporozhie, Odessa, Dnepropetrovsk, Kherson, Kiev Oblasts are most densely populated by Russians.

Ukrainian Jews follow Russians in number, although their number has decreased and stands at 486,000. Some two thirds of Ukrainian Jews live in Kiev, Odessa, Chernovtsy, Kharkov, Zhitomir, Vinnitsa, and Dnepropetrovsk Oblasts.

Belarusians are third in number and make up 440,000. They reside mainly in the Republic of Crimea, Donetsk, Rovno, Dnepropetrovsk, Lugansk, Nikolaev, Kharkov, Zaporozhie, and Kiev Oblasts. Moldovans—some 325,000 people—are settled in Odessa, Zaporozhie, and Kiev Oblasts.

Ugrians live compactly in Zakarpatie Oblast, Gagauzes—in Odessa, Greeks—in Donetsk, Rumanians—in Chernovtsy and Zakarpatie Oblasts. According to the last three Republican censuses of population, Ukraine has especially suffered from the russificatory policy of Russia within the last three decades when waves of emigrants from Russia literally invaded the southern regions and the industrial centers of Ukraine.

As for the distribution of languages, some 98 percent of Russians living in Ukraine consider Russian their native language. In addition, within the last decade, the number of Ukrainians speaking Ukrainian has decreased from 89 to 87 percent. Therefore, we have no grounds to state that Russians are somehow discriminated in Ukraine.

Currently, some 3,300 Russian schools function in Ukraine. About 43 percent of the entire number of schoolchildren in Ukraine are studying there.

According to the Ukrainian Book Chamber, in 1992, 4,400 books were published, among them—3,900 books in Russian.

Therefore, we can say that, in comparison to Russians, the other national minorities find themselves in less favorable conditions.

In conclusion, I can say that Ukraine has passed its exam on the implementation of democracy in the sphere of national relations.

Prospective Mineral Wealth Assessed

AU2012131893 Kiev URYADOVYY KURYER in Ukrainian 16 Dec 93 p 8

[Article by Mykola Lisovenko: "Cursed Treasures"]

[Text] In terms of its territory, size of population, and natural resources, Ukraine is among the largest European states, such as Great Britain, Italy, and France. If it had had the oil and gas potential of Iran or the gold and diamond potential of the Republic of South Africa, the country would have been one of the richest in the world.

"It will belong to such countries," says Borys Panov, a well-known scientist-geologist and a state prize winner, who believes that it is only lack of capital that prevents our people from taking those great treasures for which the depths of the earth is famous.

I will speak about those treasures.

At the end of the last century, an important piece of news spread through industrial European countries: In Donbass, in addition to te 50 minerals mined there, there is also gold. The news excited the entire business world, because at that time, British, German, French, Belgian, and, of course, Russian capital fruitfully cooperated on the Donetsk steppes. Consequently, the businessmen wanted to know more about gold.

Yes, it is true that entrepreneur A.N. Glebov found a gold vein at Naholnyy Ridge, began to work it and built a mine, an electric power plant for it (in those times!), and an enrichment plant. The industrialist extracted almost one-half pood [8.19 kg] of the yellow metal, and then the vein disappeared, foreign specialists left, and the property and even his wife's expensive jewelry—all went for repaying debts, and the optimistic story reached its dramatic culmination: The pioneer of the gold mining industry committed suicide by shooting himself.

Then rumors spread that there are gold, silver, and other natural treasures there, but they are cursed. Of course, popular legend is one thing and scientific data is something entirely different. However, scientists and mining engineers could not understand where that gold vein of Glebov's disappeared and especially where those rocks in which it occurred vanished. It was as though they were simply swallowed up by the earth! They were, in fact, swallowed up by the earth, as it turned out much later.

At the beginning of the 1960's, when the USSR vigorously extracted gold and diamonds in the north, Ukraine's Ministry of Coal Industry was headed by a wise man—Mykola Khudosovtsev. Realizing clearly that the role of Donetsk coal in the country's fuel and energy balance will steadily decrease, with an inevitable prospect of closing down unprofitable mines and impending unemployment, the minister decided to try his luck again on that same Hostryy Buhor of the Naholnyy Ridge, where Glebov once experienced his failure. M. Khudosovtsev's plan was as simple as a stroke of genius: If gold is found, the miners from the aging mines of the Donbass anthracite zone could be used for new, but related work, and if there is no gold, who will punish anyone for good intentions?

At that time, a prospecting borehole was drilled. Unfortunately, only one. It did not yield very promising results: Yes, there is a gold vein there, but the content of the "noble metal" in it is quite insignificant, and it will be economically more profitable to invest money in the already existing industries. This conclusion became prevalent in the general consciousness, and not only geologists regarded it as final.

Having achieved state independence, Ukraine began to take a keen interest in questions of extracting materials of the so-called currency group—gold, silver, platinum, diamonds, europium, and so on. Scientists also recalled Herodotus, the father of ancient history, who wrote almost 2,500 years ago that Scythians had a lot of gold and sold it to the Greeks when they arrived in the Azov region and that, in the lower reaches of the Borysthenes, Tanais (name as transliterated), and other major Scythian rivers, very beautiful gold and silver adornments were sold. It was natural to assume that our ancestors had extracted these metals somewhere locally, rather than importing them from far Siberia or the Urals.

Purpose-oriented exploration was not in vain. A small gold deposit was found in a health resort area in the vicinity of the Carpathians, and then also in Kirovohrad and Dnipropetrovsk oblasts. At that same time, a lively discussion started between industrialists and environmentalists on whether it was worth extracting minerals near health resorts, whether it was possible to use the cyanide process as the principal method for isolating gold from the ore, whether that was going to cause damage to the environment, and, in general, whether it was morally justified to ruin that region's entire way of life for the sake of some 20 tonnes of gold.

Again, the deposit at the Naholny Ridge was recalled. The return to it was due to two circumstances. First, Borys Panov, doctor of geological and mineralogic sciences, obtained new data that confirmed his idea that oil, gas, multi-metal ores, and precious metals occur along the O. Karpinskiy fault line. Almost 100 years ago, Academician Karpinskiy expressed an assumption that the earth's crust in the continental part of Eurasia must have a huge fault. It was the foresight of a genius that was later confirmed both theoretically and by the data of seismography and conclusions based upon geological prospecting drilling. The fault, which extends from the North Sea across Netherlands, Denmark, Germany, Poland, Belarus, Ukraine, Rostov Oblast and Kalmykia in the Russian Federation, Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan, and China to the Pacific Ocean was named after Karpinskiy. Within its sphere, the abundant oil deposits of the North Sea and the oil and condensate gas deposits of Poltava, Kharkiv, and Sumy Oblasts in Dnieper-Donets Depression were found, as well as the treasure peninsula of Mangyshlak, the Bucharan-Khivin Province with universally known Gazla fields and the recently discovered oil and gas deposits of Southern China.

Donbass, with about 20 small oil and gas deposits already discovered at its southern and northern margins in earlier times, when the Karpinskiy fault was explored, used to be as promising as Mangyshlak. If the Naholnyy Ridge is more accurately compared with its geologic analogue in Asia, the Muruntau Enclave resembles it particularly well. It has large deposits of precious metals. Therefore, the first reason why Borys Panov and his colleagues from the mineral prospecting chair paid attention to the Naholnyy Ridge lied in the fact that it occurs at the Karpinskiy lineament. The second reason, which is also quite convincing, is the persistence of geologist Anatoliy Ivanov, who proposed his own method for gold prospecting. This method took into account both geological and geographical factors. Even the terrain was taken into account, because geothermal solutions, which contained lead, gold, silver, and other metals in their composition, had to flow in a certain direction and create an ore body. On the Naholnyy Ridge, everything pointed to the presence of gold. These two reasons led Ukraine's Deputy Minister of Geology A. Zarytskyy to raise 120,000 karbovantsi [K] in order to drill drift mines at that same cursed place where A. Glebov's best expectations were so tragically shattered.

The superdeep borehole on Kola Peninsula is known to have already reached a depth of 13 kilometers and its deviation from the center has also reached almost 1 km. That is why, when B. Panov and A. Ivanov determined the place where it was necessary to drill, they demanded that the "Voroshylovhradheolohiya" [Voroshylovhrad Geological Trust] operators not deviate from the specified direction. They corrected the movement of the drilling bit seven times and, finally, at a depth of 550 meters below the surface, they did find the second "floor" of that same ore body, which had been lost, almost 100 years ago, by entrepreneur Glebov.

What could be found out from the core samples taken to the surface? The main thing is that there is gold-bearing ore and that the ore interval extends from a depth of 550 meters to a depth of 1,200 meters, and also that at some places of the interval there are 28 grams of gold per tonne of ore and even more of silver—100 grams. Therefore, the Hostryy Buhor borehole answered the burning question of whether there is gold in Donbass and answered it in the affirmative. However, there is still a huge distance between this very fact and the organization of prospecting. Prior to building a mine, it is necessary to drill another several dozen prospecting boreholes, and it must be remembered that whereas before, one running meter of the drift cost K100,000, at present the price may be

K500,000. Of course, nobody has that much money now. Nor does the Ukrainian state have it. One mine would cost almost K1 trillion. Unfortunately, we do not yet have a structure that would pursue a purpose-oriented policy of designing, building, and running enterprises that would extract precious materials and metals. In other words, we even lack an organization that might be called "Donbasszoloto" [Donbass Gold].

Therefore, since we have nothing apart from the deposits themselves, the Donetsk Technological University, where Borys Panov and his colleagues work, agreed with Utrecht University in the Netherlands and the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences Geophysics Institute to conduct work on an interesting project of prospecting those mineral resources that lie along the Karpinskiy paleorift. The Netherlands was invited to participate not only because it is a rich country, but also because its geological conditions are similar to those in Donbass. The Donbass and Dutch scientists must now see to it that the EC includes this joint project into its "Europrobe" program and also be financed, something the EC seems to have promised. Consequently, the road to the goal will again be a long and difficult one. However, it exists. Luckily for us, scientists from various countries can already openly communicate and discuss themes that used to be "classified," and care about mankind in general, and not only about the vanguard armed with the ideas of Marx and Lenin. Therefore, "Europrobe" must also objectively speed up the appearance of Ukrainian gold, oil, gas, and other strategic raw materials on domestic and external markets.

...Recently, Borys Panov, who is well known in the scientific world, received an invitation to come to a symposium in London. Unfortunately, he cannot do so—it is necessary to pay $1,500, a sum he does not have, although, openly speaking, this person pointed to the world's main treasures for us. Including those containing Ukraine's gold.

Belarus

Shushkevich Said Hospitalized 20 Dec

WS2112094693 Minsk BELAPAN in Belarusian 1630 GMT 20 Dec 93

[Text] As a BELAPAN correspondent has learned from legislative sources, on 20 December, Supreme Soviet Chairman Stanislav Shushkevich was again hospitalized in connection with the deterioration of his health.

On 16 December, when he was hospitalized for the first time; the illness was diagnosed as "hypertonic crisis." Following a medical examination held on 17 December, Stanislav Shushkevich was undergoing rehabilitation at home. Today, the Supreme Soviet chairman was transported to the Baraulyany Minsk Oblast Clinic.

Foreign Policy Adviser Tsepkalo on Priorities

WS2112110093 Minsk RESPUBLIKA in Russian 14 Dec 93 p 5

[Interview with Valeriy Tsepkalo, adviser of the Belarusian Supreme Soviet chairman for issues of foreign policy, by Igor Gukovskiy; place and date not given: "Geopolitical Instincts Are Stronger Than Politicians' Wishes"]

[Excerpts] [Tsepkalo] Our relations with Russia in the sphere of agreements are developing quite satisfactorily. They were initiated in December 1990 when Russia and Belarus, for the first time in their history, signed a 10-year political treaty.

As of today, 42 agreements have been signed between the two states, including 31 economic, six political, and five military. Belarus has also signed more than 200 agreements within the CIS.

[Gukovskiy] However, you claim that the Belarusian leadership lacks a clear concept for building bilateral economic relations with its neighbor....

[Tsepkalo] Unfortunately, most of these agreements are not carried out at the executive level. All kinds of coordinating organs, groups, and committees have been formed, but these have insignificant influence on the governments of the two states.

Still, I see the main reason for a decrease in bilateral activities as a lack of a concept for the economic reshaping of Belarus and for overcoming the crisis. Russia has Gaydar's, Yavlinskiy's, Shatalin's, and other concepts. They may be criticized, but they exist. Our ineffective programs cannot even be called concepts. Sometimes, one gets the impression that we are busy mending holes and never lift up our heads to look into the future. [passage omitted]

[Gukovskiy] What is your vision of an optimal model for economic relations with Russia?

[Tsepkalo] God ruled that Belarus and Russia are located where they are. The economies of the two states are closely integrated. Some 70 percent of Belarusian trade turnover depends on Russia. This factor determines the geopolitical, political, and economic orientation of our Republic.

An economic union would give a chance to conduct unified credit, taxation, and customs policies. However, this by far does not mean forming a single budget. Yet, Russia, being the economic patron of the region will establish financial policies for other banks, including the Belarusian National Bank. For example, if the Russian bank introduces a certain interest rate, the Belarusian bank will have to follow its example.

A large number of Russian enterprises produces subassemblies for Belarusian products. In the former USSR, due to low power prices, we could produce cheap tractors, cars, trucks, and metal processing machines. These were exported to the West regardless of antidumping laws existing there. The situation is absolutely different now. Russia has started supplying us with power at world prices, and producers have started dictating prices for subunits. It is easy to do this if one knows that he has a monopoly on say, crankshafts. These prices increase the price of the end product and make the latter uncompetitive in the world market. This inflicts financial losses to both Belarusian and Russian enterprises.

It might seem that Russia could resolve the situation by building its own assembly plants, but this would amount to reviving the structure of the former USSR economy within the Russian Federation alone. Neither Russia nor Belarus need that. I think that the situation can be resolved through establishing transnational corporations. As we know, such corporations are located in different countries and produce subassemblies for the end product made in one of these states.

If we formed transnational corporations within the CIS, in the first place, between Russia and Belarus, the incomes could be divided in proportion to each enterprise's contribution. For example, assembly plants could receive 15 percent of the revenues.

By the way, shares of corporations are much more expensive in Western stock-exchanges than those of individual enterprises. A system of destroying corporations used to exist in the West—corporations were first bought and then sold as separate enterprises. We did something of the kind voluntarily when we disrupted the system of economic ties within the CIS. [passage omitted]

[Gukovskiy] Some people say that Belarus, being a poor country with no natural resources of its own, can hardly survive without unification with a stronger neighbor.

[Tsepkalo] We do not have oil or other vitally important minerals. However, we have land, infrastructure, and enterprises that, if properly financed, can yield dividends. We must give up some of this property by selling about 5 percent of the land and the capital stock at the international stock exchange. This will provide us with means necessary for establishing a stabilization fund.

[Gukovskiy] Are you not afraid that your proposal will be regarded as an appeal to sell out the motherland?

[Tsepkalo] This is a norm in all democratic states including France, England, and the United States.

[Gukovskiy] Two approaches prevail in public opinion. The advocates of the first insist on separating from Russia and building a sovereign state with national borders and currency. The champions of the other, urge almost complete reunification with Russia and the building of a revived Soviet Union. Which approach has more chances of being implemented?

[Tsepkalo] You described two extreme viewpoints represented by the Belarusian Popular Front on the one hand, and the Belarusian communists on the other. However, the spectrum of approaches is much wider, of course. In my opinion, geopolitics is determined by geopolitical instincts of nations, rather than the intentions of political leaders.

A kind of ethnic harmony developed between Russians and Belarusians. The two nations have never been ethnically alien to one another. Although there are no serious forces in Russia advocating the reconstitution of the former USSR, I repeat, there exist geopolitical instincts that function regardless of the presidents' or prime ministers' wishes.

[Gukovskiy] Do you think that there is serious opposition between Stanislav Shushkevich and Vyacheslav Kebich that might negatively influence the development of Belarusian-Russian relations?

[Tsepkalo] There are differences in opinions on a number of issues. Take the Collective Security Treaty, for instance. Kebich supported Belarusian participation in it, while Shushkevich insisted on neutrality. However, this opposition could hardly influence bilateral relations, because Shushkevich had to subordinate to the will of the majority and sign the treaty.

[Gukovskiy] What is your personal opinion on this issue?

[Tsepkalo] There are conflicts within the CIS that are even more acute than those between the CIS and other states. For example, there are fewer disputable issues between the United States and Russia than between Russia and Ukraine. There is a real war between Azerbaijan and Armenia. Can we speak about an efficient system of collective security within the CIS at all? Suppose there is a serious conflict between Russia and Ukraine over the Black Sea Fleet. Belarus, being a member of the collective security system could find herself in a ticklish situation. Neutrality within the CIS would strengthen Belarusian relations with other members of the Commonwealth and form a real base for an economic union.

[Gukovskiy] What states should be our primary economic and political partners at this stage?

[Tsepkalo] I think that in the beginning, these should be CIS members, Russia and Ukraine in the first place. Later, these could be West Europe and the United States. However, searching for modern technologies we might have to give priority to relations with Germany, the United States, and Japan. Our economic relations with China are also of the utmost importance to us.

Goals of Team for KGB Reorganization Discussed

WS2012143793 Minsk ZVYAZDA in Belarusian 14 Dec 93 p 1,2

[Interview with Mechyslaw Hryb, chairman of the Supreme Soviet Committee for Issues of National Security, by Mikola Dzyabela; place and date not given: "Deputies Will Investigate KGB Issues"]

[Text] **Passions have flared around the Ministry of Internal Affairs and the KGB, following the sensational open letter to the Belarusian legislature signed by [Interior Minister] Vladimir Yegorov and [KGB Chairman] Eduard Shirikovskiy, heads of the abovementioned departments.**

As a ZVYAZDA correspondent has learned at the Committee for Issues of National Security, Defense, and Combating Crime, a working group for reforming the KGB has been established. I have asked Mechyslaw Hryb, chairman of this committee, to describe future activities of this group.

[Dzyabela] Mechyslaw Ivanavich, how long has the group been working, and who is it composed of?

[Hryb] Our committee decided that it would be expedient to establish such a group at the end of last week. The KGB should be reformed, because our life has significantly changed, and this organization has an obsolete structure.

Regarding the composition of the group, I can say that it is comprised of Belarusian people's deputies. I expect that the group will work out certain proposals concerning the KGB structure, and will submit them for the consideration of the Supreme Soviet Presidium, and the latter should adopt a final resolution on this issue.

[Dzyabela] What, in your opinion, should be first of all changed in the KGB structure?

[Hryb] It is hard to say right now. A working group has been recently established. First, I would like to hear opinions by specialists and KGB workers. They should come forward with proposals.

[Dzyabela] Will the group be dealing with the issue of reorganization of the Ministry of Internal Affairs and the Ministry of Defense?

[Hryb] Probably, not. It is possible that the prime minister comes forward with some suggestions. As is known, the legislature has asked him to present all projects for reforming the government by 15 December. My opinion on this issue is as follows: The reorganization of the KGB must also include the Ministry of Internal Affairs, since these are parallel services.

[Dzyabela] The fact that such a group would be created was kept secret.

[Hryb] This was not a big secret. However, not to spread panic among KGB workers, and to let them work in peace, we did not speak loudly about this.

By the way, I would like to make it clear that the group does not intend to purge the KGB services, nor does it plan to examine the issues of reduction in employment, wages, and welfare benefits. The group will only examine the reorganization of the KGB structure.

Germany's 'Commerzbank' Opens Branch in Minsk

AU2112113093 Duesseldorf HANDELSBLATT in German 21 Dec 93 p 8

[Report by Klaus C. Engelen: "East-West Banking Cooperation Can Assist Investors"]

[Text] Minsk, 20 December—"In difficult times it is particularly important that foreign partners commit themselves in our country." This is what Mikhail V. Myasnikov, vice premier of Belarus responsible for the economic sector, said in the Cultural Palace of the Minsk government on 16 December before approximately 350 guests to welcome the decision of Commerzbank AG to fly its flag by opening a branch in Minsk. The mayor of Minsk, Aleksandre Gerasimenko, considers the opening of the Commerzbank branch a signal "that Western banks are now also seeing the economic opportunities in Belarus."

Without the energetic support of the leading banker in the city, Sergey A. Kostyuchenko, chairman of Priorbank, the Commerzbank people could hardly have established themselves in Minsk this year. This is what Commerzbank board member Klaus Peter Mueller said, who intends to hoist the bank's flag in the established banking center of St. Petersburg before the end of this year—following the opening of branches in Alma Ata, Kazakhstan, Kiev, Ukraine, and now Minsk.

According to Mueller, there are good economic reasons behind Commerzbank's commitment in Minsk. First, the number of German firms that urgently need the assistance of their bank in the field is increasing in Belarus. Even though the reforms in Belarus are being carried out at a slower pace than in other former Soviet republics, the country, owing to its strategic situation and its technically highly qualified labor force, has an economic potential that should not be underestimated. Second, with the development of private banking systems in some republics of the former Soviet Union, including Belarus, correspondent bank transactions are also becoming interesting for a bank like Commerzbank. In this respect, it is important to "create an interesting business of the future with a head start of several years, much patience, and the transfer of know-how." Third, German banks in particular, with their experience in the restructuring of the eastern German economic sector, could provide assistance in the coming privatization in Belarus. Fourth, the training of banking experts must be given a key role in the development of Eastern banking systems. The European Union has awarded Commerzbank - along with the Price Waterhouse firm of certified public accountants and the Frankfurt-based banking academy—a contract to train 300 banking experts from Belarus. They will be trained in Minsk, Germany, and Britain. Similar advanced training programs have been planned for other reform states.

Commerzbank has sent Carsten Theuer to Minsk, a young banker whom the former GDR leaders sent to the Moscow Academy of International Relations for six years as preparation for a diplomatic career.

Priorbank head Kostyuchenko is optimistic: "Private banks have much to do with the dynamic sectors of our business and industry, which is troubled by hyperinflation, a structural crisis, and raw material dependencies." In the new private enterprise sectors, the world "looks better than in the official statistics and official statements." Measured by its capital resources ($110 million), Priorbank is the third largest bank in Belarus, but it is "the number one in terms of hard currency transactions and foreign business." Two-thirds of Priorbank's transactions are private enterprise activities. According to the Priorbank chief, "with excessively high inflation and a Belarusian ruble that has decreased to a ratio of 1:6 (one Russian ruble is worth six Belarusian rubles), the balance sheet submitted at the end of 1992 does not give a reliable picture." He is proud that his bank, which now has 1,000 employees, is the only one of 26 Belarusian banks to be registered in this year's edition of the Bankers Almanac.

Kostyuchenko, who is an electrical engineer and university teacher, was lucky to get a scholarship for studies abroad shortly before the former Soviet Union collapsed. At Wuppertal University, Kostyuchenko, who is now 37, studied economics and business administration, and in September 1990, he became chief of Priorbank, which was then founded as a specialized bank by state firms in the light industry sector.

Moldova

Snegur, Gagauz Leaders Discuss Issues

AU2012192393 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1800 GMT 20 Dec 93

[Mircea Dascaliuc report from Chisinau]

[Text] Today President Mircea Snegur met in Chisinau with leaders of localities with a majority Gagauz population. On this occasion, the participants discussed sociopolitical developments in that area within the context of solving the problems linked to the granting of a special legal status for the southern region of the Republic of Moldova.

President Mircea Snegur referred, among other things, to the fact that the authorities in Comrat have not demonstrated proper understanding of initiatives taken by the leadership of the Republic of Moldova in connection with a return to the republican budget. At the same time, the participants discussed the decision made by Comrat to dissolve rayonal soviets and not to tolerate strikes by intellectuals in certain rayons, thus violating Moldova's laws.

Such a thing cannot continue forever, Mircea Snegur affirmed, and if there is no constructive response to Chisinau's proposals, then meetings will be organized—including with the president—with the masses in order to discuss these matters, President Mircea Snegur also said. Assessing that the participation of the Gagauz population in the February elections next year will lead to the elimination of misunderstandings, President Snegur also rejected the ultimatum-type way in which the leaders in Comrat asked him to grant special status to the southern region through a presidential decree, something that is not only nondemocratic, but also goes beyond the legal powers of the chief of state.

The meeting was also attended by Mr. Petr Lucinschi, parliament president, who pointed out the fact that the current leadership of the Republic of Moldova is firmly supported at the international level and will not renounce the independence and territorial integrity of Moldova.

At the same time, the meeting was attended by Mr. Andrei Sangheli, prime minister of the Republic of Moldova, who specified that the southern region is not subjected to economic discrimination and requested that order and discipline be introduced urgently and that crime in the area be reduced. He also stressed that the future parliament will adopt a new constitution and a special status for the regions with a majority Gagauz population.

At the end of the meeting, President Snegur took the floor again, expressing the hope that the leaders present at the meeting will appreciate the proposals made on this occasion and will participate in the election of a parliament able to solve the political problems confronting the Republic of Moldova.

Russia's 14th Army Mining Dumps To Deter Raids

PM2112094393 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 18 Dec 93 p 2

[Report from ITAR-TASS/RIA/INTERFAX "News In Brief" column: "Commonwealth"]

[Text] The mining of arms and munitions dumps has begun in the Dniester Region because of increasing attempts to attack them. Aleksandr Lebed, commander of the 14th Army, stated that five raids have recently been perpetrated on Russian Army stores.

Kazakhstan

President Negotiates Loan With IMF Director

LD2012155493 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1220 GMT 20 Dec 93

[Text] Michel Camdessus, managing director of the International Monetary Fund, said that he approved the Kazakh economic reform program and the introduction of the tenge, the national currency. Speaking after his talks with Kazakhstan's President, Nursultan Nazarbayev, in Almaty, Camdessus said that he would advise the IMF Executive Council at its January meeting that it grant Kazakhstan a total of $320 million as a standby credit and a second installment of credit within the framework of the mechanism of financing system changes.

In Camdessus's words, this very important decision showed that the IMF would help Kazakhstan in obtaining more aid, both from international organizations and individual countries.

"It is time Kazakhstan was helped by investments into its economy," he said. He added that he would say so at the joint session with the World Bank which is scheduled to be held in Paris on January 14.

Nazarbayev assured Camdessus that the Kazakh National Bank and government had started a tight crediting policy and intended to go ahead with the IMF-approved economic reform program. Nazarbayev hopes that the IMF's aid will encourage international investors.

The Kazakh president said that he had appointed Akezhan Kazhegeldin, former deputy head of the Semipalatinsk regional administration and chairman of the country's Union of Entrepreneurs, as first vice premier. Nazarbayev emphasized that Kazhegeldin was the first businessman in the Kazakh government. Daulet Sembayev, former first vice premier, has been appointed chairman of the National Bank board and will stay on the country's cabinet.

Tajikistan

Russian Border Post Attacked by Opposition Fighters

LD2112111193 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1000 GMT 21 Dec 93

[Text] Fighters from the Tajik opposition attacked from the rear a Russian border post in the section controlled by the 12th subunit of the Moskovskiy border troops detachment on Monday [20 December], firing rockets at it. INTERFAX has learned from the border troops news bureau that fire was returned. The attackers' weapon emplacements were neutralized.

There were no casualties among the Russian border troops.

Rakhmanov on Economic Crisis, Talks With Rabbani

PM2112113593 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 21 Dec 93 p 1

[Interview with Imamali Rakhmanov, chairman of the Tajik Supreme Council, by Umed Babakhanov and Aleksandr Khokhlov; place and date not given: "'Strangely Enough, I Have No Housing in Dushanbe...' Tajik Supreme Council Chairman Imamali Rakhmanov Answers Our Correspondents' Questions"]

[Text] [KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA] What problems are now the most important for Tajikistan—political problems or economic ones?

[Rakhmanov] At the moment—economic problems. Just take the crisis in the Republic's financial system. This has been brought about by the introduction of national currencies in neighboring states, leading to ruble intervention and the "erosion" of consumer goods and foodstuffs. Russia has met us halfway, allocating credit in 1993-issue Russian rubles.

[KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA] Is a dialogue with the opposition possible?

[Rakhmanov] I believed and still believe that dialogue is necessary with all those who have an interest in establishing peace and building a rule-of-law, democratic, secular state in Tajikistan. The Republic's Supreme Council Presidium has adopted the decree "On the Formation of a Supreme Council Presidium Commission To Cooperate With Public Organizations." Contacts have been organized with opposition representatives living in Moscow.

[KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA] What do you expect to come out of the meeting with Afghan President B. Rabbani?

[Rakhmanov] The Afghan president—like us—is concerned about the situation on the border and within his own country.

One other problem that will be discussed at the Dushanbe talks is refugees. We have succeeded in repatriating half of our countrymen.

As for a calm situation on the border, it depends not only on our desire to achieve peace. There was a time when certain states spent a lot of money on the war in Afghanistan. Now it is time jointly to help restore a peaceful life there.

[KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA] A year ago in an interview for our newspaper you said that you could not bring your family to Dushanbe yet, and that this would happen when the situation in Tajikistan was normal...

[Rakhmanov] That was mostly to do with my children's education. Second, my current work involves constant travel, so we would not be able to meet as a family every day in any case. It is just the same now—either I visit them or they come to me.

One more point. Strangely enough, I do not have any housing in Dushanbe. In days gone by the families of state leaders were given official homes. Generally these were higher quality houses. These were meant to be temporary accommodations. Only things turned out differently in practice. These homes were transferred for the permanent use of their residents. Housing construction in Dushanbe is currently in a crisis. That is how we are living...

Rakhmanov-Rabbani Talks in Dushanbe Reviewed

PM2112112193 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 21 Dec 93 First Edition pp 1, 2

[Boris Vinogradov report: "President Rabbani Has Arrived on a Visit to Dushanbe from Besieged Kabul"]

[Text] The visit by Afghan President Borhanoddin Rabbani to Dushanbe, which was promised a year ago, has taken place at a time when changes have occurred in both capitals: Government Head A. Abdullodzhanov has resigned in Tajikistan, and Premier G. Hekmatyar in Afghanistan.

This factor has emphasized even further the similarities between the domestic political situation in both states, which are making yet another attempt to settle the complex situation along their common border.

The issue primarily concerns the fate of 40,000 Tajiks living as refugees in the northern provinces of Afghanistan. An earlier agreement about their full repatriation before the winter freeze sets in, which was reached in Kabul in the summer of this year, has remained unimplemented. Now it has been decided to open several additional crossing points on the border, and to place them under UN control.

The transfer of Tajik gunmen and weapons from Afghanistan to the Gorno-Badakhshan rayons continues. According to the military, hostilities can be expected by spring, when the passes open. I. Rakhmanov and B. Rabbani again agreed to take "all measures" to stabilize the situation on the border in order to transform it into a "border of peace and friendship."

But the matter is complicated by the fact that the Afghan president's power does not extend to the far reaches, where field commanders who are not subordinate to him are in charge. The country, deprived of unified leadership, has in fact found itself split into specific territories. Three provinces in the north are in the hands of General Rashid Dustum [name as transliterated], while in the western part Ismail Khan has proclaimed himself emir, and Ahmad Shah Mas'ud and Golboddin Hekmatyar have divided the central regions among themselves. The latter announced that he is resigning as premier in favor of his deputy Amin Waqad and, in doing so, he has decided to wage war against Rabbani and his allies "to a victorious end." Hekmatyar is calling for the president's resignation and for general elections to be held.

In this situation, Rabbani, preoccupied with his own problems, is unlikely to be able to persuade other Mojahedin leaders to change their attitude toward Tajikistan. The guest from Kabul merely reiterated his own former position of noninterference in Dushanbe's internal affairs, and spoke out in favor of "broadening mutually beneficial cooperation still further."

The heads of states held a special conversation on the topic of setting up dialogue between Dushanbe and the Tajik opposition. It is well known that its least conciliatory faction is to be found in Afghanistan, where the composition of a so-called government in exile has been announced.

The Tajik opposition forces agree to dialogue in principle, but by way of preconditions they are demanding the resignation of President I. Rakhmanov and the withdrawal of Russian troops from Tajikistan. On the latter point, they meet with understanding from Kabul's official authorities.

Iranian Diplomat Reviews Living Conditions

NC1812112893 Tehran RESALAT in Persian 9 Dec 93 p 5

[Report on "exclusive" interview with 'Ali Ashraf Mojtahed Shabestari, ambassador to Tajikistan, by unidentified correspondent; place and date not given]

[Excerpts] Explaining the reasons for the dire economic conditions in Tajikistan, ['Ali Ashraf] Mojtahed-Shabestari referred to its single-commodity economy, saying: The economy of Tajikistan is based entirely on agriculture, particularly cotton cultivation. The current conflict in Tajikistan, the adverse climatic conditions, and the drought have inflicted considerable losses on the production of this strategic commodity in Tajikistan. This has resulted in irredeemable losses to the country's economy. Thus, the country was forced to pay exorbitant prices for the essential goods it imported from other countries.

He said that the most well-backed currency in circulation among the newly independent republics is Tajikistan's, adding: This is because of Russian economic assistance. If that was not forthcoming, the Tajik rulers would never have been able to stand on their own feet. [passage omitted]

He continued: Economic conditions in Tajikistan are deteriorating daily because there are no funds in the government treasury nor is there any production in the various economic sectors that could yield an income to keep the wheels of the economy moving.

Alluding to the consequences of the serious economic conditions in Tajikistan, he said: In the course of the past two years, which have been called the "transitional crisis-creating era," some individuals who were involved in the government in one way or another purchased the large and small factories in the country at government prices and later sold them on the open market. Such acts of thievery abound, and even Rakhmanov, the speaker of the Tajik parliament, admitted to the proliferation of such thefts. In any case, it can be said that the living conditions of the common people have become catastrophic. [passage omitted]

Mojtahed-Shabestari said: I am seeking to inform the officials in the Islamic Republic of Iran of the pitiful plight of the people of Tajikistan and their obligation to the Tajik Muslims, with whom we share ethnic and social links. He said: Unfortunately, some of our friends misconstrue the reasons for Iran's humanitarian assistance to Tajikistan and believe that Iran's aid is reaching the hands of the communists. I reject such misinterpretations. Our embassy in Tajikistan exercises strong and multifaceted supervision over all kinds of assistance to Tajikistan, which goes directly to the Tajik people.

The Iranian ambassador in Tajikistan stressed: One should not ignore the dreadful condition of the people of Tajikistan. We should remember that when a horrible earthquake occurred in the northern parts of our country, these same Muslim people—who were in rather poor shape themselves—gave cash and in-kind donations to the Muslim earthquake victims of Iran.

Describing the security situation in Tajikistan as dangerous, he said: Unfortunately, social insecurity has intensified in the past few months, to the extent that sniper fire can be heard in Dushanbe at night. Hooligans attack people during the day and at night, and it is being said in some circles that the present unrest is due to popular dissatisfaction. On the other hand, the people believe that the government has acted very leniently and has not been able to take away the weapons from the people. The weapons that have been confiscated represent one tenth of the arms that are in the hands of the people.

Similarly, the people of Tajikistan are not in favor of sending their children to serve in the military and do not like the idea of their children's being drafted and sent to conflict areas. [passage omitted]

Regarding the establishment of a U.S. embassy in Tajikistan, the Iranian ambassador said: In fact, this was a swift reaction on the part of the United States regarding the establishment of the Embassy of the Islamic Republic of Iran in Dushanbe. This has been confirmed by with the remarks of [former] U.S. Secretary of State James Baker to the U.S. Congress after Baker returned from Tajikistan. Baker said that there was no need to establish an embassy in that country.

He had claimed that the United States would not set up embassies in Central Asian countries that do not uphold human rights. But immediately after the Iranian Embassy was opened, the issue of human rights was forgotten by the United States, and Baker said that the matter should not be delayed any longer. Even though the United States had done much in the economic field in Dushanbe before it opened an embassy in Tajikistan, these measures had been taken in cooperation with the Jews. Israel is also selling agricultural and industrial implements to Tajikistan.

Authenticating the rumor that the services of Iranians living in the United States were being used to further U.S. influence in Tajikistan, Mojtahed-Shabestari added: Those who speak Persian are held in high esteem in Tajikistan, and, as a result, they can infiltrate much better there. The United States has also taken other steps, such as announcing that they would pay the expenses of those who wish to study in the United States, as well as award them additional stipends.

On the subject of the influence of Islam in Tajikistan, he said: Communism has only been accepted by a limited number of people in Tajikistan because it advocates apostate atheistic beliefs. It is an amazing phenomenon that, despite all its efforts over a 70-year period, the hearts of the people are still with Islam. Most of the people of Tajikistan are well-versed in the details of their religion. [passage omitted]

Of course, the outcry raised over the establishment of an Islamic government in Tajikistan is fallacious, and a glance at the origin of this outcry will affirm that the Russian and Western media played the main role in fanning such false hue and cry.

They want to attribute all the problems to Iran so that the Islamic Republic of Iran's credibility will be harmed in the eyes of the Muslim people. The fact that, after so many years, the people have permission to practice their religion, to go to the mosques, and to teach the Koran to their children should be interpreted as the precursor to setting up an Islamic government is not correct and is a misrepresentation of this newly found freedom by the Russian and Western mass media.

However, it should be noted that, unfortunately, some of the officials in the CIS countries have also fanned the clamor raised by the Russian and Western mass media. They have even stated that Islam and fundamentalism will soon engulf Russia.

Turkmenistan

Niyazov on Forthcoming CIS Summit, Yeltsin Visit

LD2012222793 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1715 GMT 20 Dec 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Lyudmila Glazovskaya]

[Text] Ashgabat, 20 Dec—Turkmenistan is preparing for the forthcoming meeting of CIS heads of state and also for the official visit to Ashgabat of President Boris

Yeltsin, and intends to put forward initiatives directed toward more flexible cooperation between the independent states. At a session of the Cabinet of Ministers today, Turkmen President Saparmurad Niyazov stressed the significance of the forthcoming measures and the role that the Republic is assuming not simply as host to the meetings but as the "initiator of an approach to interstate relations on the basis of a just settlement," of which "cooperation between Turkmenistan and Russia may serve" as an example.

According to the Turkmen leader, the draft agreements that are being presented for ratification by the heads of the two states "provide for the further development and deepening of these relations." It is anticipated that agreements will be signed on border protection, on settling questions of acquiring dual citizenship, on social guarantees and the prevention of population migration, on avoiding dual taxation, and on the promotion and mutual protection of investments.

At the session of the CIS heads of state, Turkmenistan also intends to put forward an initiative that may be seen within the context of a deepening of mutual relations on the basis of the common nature of history and the combined political, economic, and humanitarian potential of the Commonwealth.

It is vitally important, the Turkmen president said, to preserve all the good things that have united our peoples over decades of common history, and on this basis to develop cooperation of a qualitatively new level—on rights of sovereign equality within the system of international relations. The leader of Turkmenistan is convinced that the shaping of political and economic structures within the independent states has entered into a phase of a profoundly irreversible process. In these conditions, in his view, the demands of the states and their desire to create a unified economic space can only be met by constructive dialogue, multilateral consultations and consideration, and respect for the other partner's interests.

Saparmurad Niyazov believes that the purpose of the Ashgabat meeting is to ensure that "the process of integration, which has become restrained by the absence of a flexible mechanism for its implementation, is continued at a new level," a level that would be noted for the recognition of the exclusive nature of this stage in the lives of the peoples who are undergoing not just political and economic transformation, but also a profound psychological change, a growth in national self-awareness, and a rebirth of their own spiritual culture. Saparmurad Niyazov said that "if the interests of independence are not infringed in any aspect of its development, and if Turkemnistan's proposals for the functioning of an economic alliance are taken into account, then Turkmenistan does not rule out the possibility of becoming a member enjoying full rights."

Today Turkmen President Niyazov received CIS Executive Secretary Ivan Korotchenya. They had a thorough discussion on questions of the forthcoming meeting of CIS heads of state.

Armenia

Azerbaijan Said Intensifying Activity on Karabakh Front

Shelling, Air Raids Reported

NC2112114993 Yerevan SNARK in English 1020 GMT 21 Dec 93

[Text] Stepanakert, December 21 (SNARK)—The Azerbaijani Army is intensifying the situation at the Karabakh front. Last night and this morning the positions of the Karabakh forces were currently shelled by the different weapons at all the parts of the confrontation.

According to data received from the Karabakh military services, the Karabakh side suffers with the wounded soldiers. Following the cease-fire agreement achieved on December 16 the Karabakh side didn't retaliate.

Meanwhile, as the Karabakh military officials inform, the Azerbaijani Air Forces intensified their activity undertaking several air-raids to the front zone.

Tension, Clashes at Front

NC2012183193 Yerevan Radio Yerevan in Azeri 1430 GMT 20 Dec 93

[Excerpts] Dear listeners, we now present a report on the latest incidents in the Nagorno-Karabakh Republic [NKR] and the border between Armenia and Azerbaijan during the past week.

We reported several times in the past that Azerbaijan had massed many units and armored vehicles in various areas adjacent to our territory. One of those areas is Beynaganskiy Rayon. The Azerbaijan military forces systematically fired on the Armenian defense positions in that area with various types of arms before they recently launched their extensive attacks. Meanwhile, Azerbaijan's military units in the occupied areas in Mardakertskiy Rayon behaved in the same way and forced the Armenians to take retaliatory measures. However, the Armenian side remained committed to its decision to observe a unilateral cease-fire. The Armenian forces refrained from returning fire for a long time.

Not satisfied with positional fighting, Azerbaijan's military forces launched a wide-scale attack along the Fizuli-Beynagan sector of the front line against the Armenian defensive positions early last week. Azerbaijani military units supported by artillery and armored vehicles were able to advance up to three or four km against the Armenian positions during the first stage of their onslaught. However, they were unable to maintain their advance. The NKR military forces not only obstructed their onslaught but also counterattacked. They forced the enemy to retreat after losing many men and armored vehicles.

Azerbaijan's military forces launched another heavy attack on the night of 15 December, but their onslaught was rebuffed. Beynaganskiy Rayon was the main axis of the combat operations during the past two weeks, but Agdzhabedinskiy Rayon was involved in the fighting on 16 December. Martuni and several border areas in Martuninskiy Rayon were shelled by artillery from that rayon on that day.

Several sources in Azerbaijan have claimed that the Armenian side lost dozens of tanks and hundreds of troops in the clashes that took place last week. However, the NKR military leaders have denied that claim several times. Regardless of the large number of mercenaries in that area, the Azerbaijan National Army failed to achieve its objectives.

It must be noted that Azerbaijan's 18 or 19 year old troops who took part in the fighting were unable to retreat because they had disciplinary forces behind them. Those forces were responsible for the rise in the number of Azerbaijani troops killed in the clashes. Some 300 young men were killed in the fighting. Several of the mercenary fighters were also killed. [passage omitted]

Azerbaijan's military forces in Agdamskiy Rayon fired on NKR's military positions in Martuninskiy Rayon on 17 December. The Armenian military units launched retaliatory operations to silence the enemy fire.

Tension also escalated on the border between Armenia and Azerbaijan as a result of Azerbaijan's provocations. Several border areas in Armenia's Noyemberyanskiy and Idzehvanskiy Rayons were fired on many times from Azerbaijan's Kazakhskiy Rayon. The peaceful situation on the border between Armenia and the Nakhichevan Autonomous Republic [NAR] was also disrupted. Yeraskavan in Araratskiy Rayon was fired on from the NAR with various types of arms on 15 December. However, the Armenian side refrained from returning fire in all cases.

The facts we have mentioned clearly indicate which side is interested in worsening the situation in the region. Regrettably, Azerbaijan's leaders do not wish to heed realities. In fact, they continue to believe that prolonging the war is the only way to end this dangerous situation; and, consequently, they are obstructing the UN and CSCE mediation efforts. Nevertheless, Azerbaijan's leaders have realized that it is impossible to resolve the dispute through military force. Unfortunately, their political ambitions prevent them from admitting that. Meanwhile, the sons of the people are being killed, the number of refugees is increasing, and dozens of villages are being razed to the ground.

AES Not To Reopen 'For At Least Another Year'

PM2012161993 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 1800 GMT 18 Dec 93

[By Vladimir Nazaryan from Armenia; from the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] [Nazaryan over view of area around power station] These pictures were taken on our way to the AES [nuclear electric power station]. Until very recently, fine specimens of poplars were growing here, and look what remains of them now [video shows tree stumps]. The trees were cut down for firewood and, for a long time to come, the stumps will remind us of the thoughtless shortsightedness with which the Republic's largest electric power station was shut down. Armenia's power engineering flagship, which at one time generated almost one half of all the electricity consumed, has now been standing idle for over four years.

[S. Azatyan, director of the AES] It is very painful to see such a power station, which worked perfectly well, suddenly find itself actually consuming electricity.

[Nazaryan] A year ago, when it became obvious that the power crisis could not be overcome, the Armenian Government adopted a decision to reopen the AES, prepare a second power unit with a capacity of 400 megawatts, and start up the power station again. In accordance with the program, which has no equivalent in world practice, 18 months has been set aside for all of this. The first six months have already gone by.

[Azatyan] By next winter, our power station will be able to operate efficiently.

[Nazaryan] But in the meantime, the inhabitants of Armenia will still have to live by candlelight, or at best with only two or three hours' lighting a day, for at least another year. [Video shows interior and exterior of power station]

Azerbaijan

Aliyev Signs Paris Charter After Mitterrand Talks

LD2112094193 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0901 GMT 21 Dec 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Nikita Yermakov]

[Text] Paris December 21 TASS—Azeri President Geydar Aliyev ended talks with French President Francois Mitterrand on Monday night by signing a Charter of Paris for new Europe.

Upon completion of the talks which continued for one hour and twenty minutes the two leaders put their signatures under an Azeri-French agreement on friendship, cooperation and mutual understanding.

This is Aliyev's first visit abroad beyond CIS borders since he was elected Azeri president.

The French president addressed all those present at the signing ceremony, saying that France had rare contacts with Azerbaijan yet [as received] and that the current visit of the Azeri president enables the sides to discuss fundamental problems. Mitterrand pointed out that the Azeri president signed the Charter of Paris, while both presidents signed an agreement on friendship, mutual understanding and cooperation. The French president noted that by signing the Paris Charter Aliyev undertook a commitment in the CSCE framework and confirmed the adherence to U.N. principles.

Mitterrand declared that France would side with Azerbaijan in the matter of the soonest establishment of peace. He pointed out that a bilateral agreement would was [as received] an important landmark in the development of Russo-Azeri relations since it determined the boundaries for future cooperation in bilateral and multilateral framework. Mitterrand pointed out that France envisaged cooperation in political, economic, cultural, scientific and technical fields and in the field of ensuring security.

The French president said that France was following the development of the Karabakh conflict with concern and deeply regretted sufferings and hardships that the peaceful population had to go through. Mitterrand said that they were against changing borders by force and using force in the settlement of the conflict caused by a desire for self-determination and came out for support of azeri sovereignty and independenmce. Mitterrand said that France suggested calling an international conference in the CSCE framework and called on all parties concerned to display a good will. However, these principles had not been in effect applied so far in areas where the Armenian and Azeri forces confront each other, the French president said.

For his part, the Azeri president expressed satisfaction with the talks with the French president during which he felt Mitterrand's friendly attitude to Azerbaijan and his sincere desire to help Azerbaijan come out of the crisis.

Aliyev thanked for efforts the French president promised to make in future. Aliyev said that the Charter of Paris signed on Monday was the most important international document by which Azerbaijan demonstrated its adherence to peace and security. An agreement on friendship, mutual understanding and cooperation is a new stage in Azerbaijan's international relations. Aliyev stressed that Azerbaijan was attaching great importance to cooperation with France as its closest partner.

The Azeri president received with satisfaction a statement made by the French president expressing concern over the developments in Nagorno-Karabakh, on the supremacy of law and the observance of the principle of security and the inviolability of borders. Aliyev pointed out that Azerbaijan abided by constructive positions and hoped for France's constructive assistance.

Aliyev assured that France should regard Azerbaijan as a reliable partner for cooperation for many years. Azerbaijan will remain loyal to principles of peace and security, respect for human rights, principles of democracy and political pluralism, Aliyev said in conclusion.

Presidential Staff Member Promotes Regional Security

LD2012192993 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1806 GMT 20 Dec 93

[From the "Presidential Bulletin" feature: Prepared by Andrey Pershin, Andrey Petrovskiy, and Vladimir Shishlin, edited by Boris Grishchenko]

[Text] Stronger regional security is a vital task facing Transcaucasian states, senior member of the presidential staff Rakhman Mustafa-Zade told INTERFAX. In his view, "any just regional order" must be based on a thorough review of Azeri-Russian relations. This includes an accounting for Russia's interests and its status as a great power as well as for the observance of Azerbaijan's interests and revival of a vital geo-political role it can play in the Eurasian space.

Mustafa-Zade said that with the arrival of a new government in Baku, Russian diplomacy has good chances of restoring its leading role in settling the conflict between Armenia and Azerbaijan. However, any success depends to a larger extent on whether Moscow is prepared to display geo-political pluralism and abandon its fatal bias towards Armenia alone, he said. In other words, said Mustafa-Zade, the question is whether Moscow will be able to view its relations with Baku through the prism of Russian national interests or through the eyes of Russian industrialists and entrepreneurs, and scientific and cultural workers.

Russia cannot keep turning a blind eye to the fact that Azerbaijan is the homeland of the region's largest Orthodox community, Mustafa-Zade believes. More importantly, this is a reliable bridge to help ensure effective cooperation between CIS Slavic and Islamic states and Islamic countries of the strategically important and wealthy region, he said.

On Armenia's stand in the regional conflict, the Azeri official stressed that leading regional countries - among them Iran, Turkey, Pakistan, Afghanistan, Saudi Arabia, and India - "have all pinpointed Armenia's aggressive policy as the source of regional tension." In connection with this, Mustafa-Zade said that the CIS must also bear responsibility for settling the regional conflict. "If the Commonwealth is unwilling to burden itself with this task," he said, "it must either help Azerbaijan go it alone, or agree to the prospect of the region's future being hinged not on international law but on iniquities and an endless shifting of borders with more countries being sucked into the conflict."

Despite Armenia's production slump, said Mustafa-Zade, it continues to increase military output and send more weapons to Nagorno-Karabakh. In these conditions, he said, Azerbaijan will have to consider not only how to intensify political and diplomatic efforts, but strengthen its defense potential to match Armenia's.

IF Note: In the meantime, acting Parliamentary Chairman of Nagorno-Karabakh Karim Baburian, in a message sent to UN Secretary General Butrus-Ghali, alleges that Baku is being poised to launch a major offensive against the enclave. The amount of weapons accumulated by Azerbaijan is far in excess of what is permissible, the message says. Under the 1992 CFE agreement to which Baku is a signatory, Azerbaijan is allowed to have 220 tanks and an equal number of APCs as well as 285 artillery pieces, Baburian says. However, according to Azerbaijan's Foreign Ministry, the amount of weapons Baku received last year runs at 286 tanks, 842 armored vehicles, and 345 artillery pieces, the message continues. It also received a further 105 APCs and 42 artillery pieces this year and obtained another 52 tanks from Ukraine, Baburian said.

Georgia

Decree Calls For Wheat Imports From Kazakhstan

LD2012173893 Tbilisi Radio Tbilisi Network in Georgian 1600 GMT 20 Dec 93

[Text] The Georgian head of state, Eduard Shevardnadze has issued a decree which endorses a plan of required measures to secure the import of 700,000 tonnes of wheat from Kazakhstan. The plan was drawn up by the Georgian government commission for management and coordination of measures to improve the national food supply. The Georgian Ministry of Finances has been instructed to stipulate in the 1994 draft budget expenditures for purchasing wheat in Kazakhstan. The Ministry of Agriculture and Food Production, the Ministry of Economics, the Ministry of Trade and Supply, the Ministry of Industry, the Foreign Relations Committee, the Customs Department as well as the Department of Railway Transport have been instructed to secure timely implementation of tasks stipulated by appropriate plans. The accomplishment of the plan of the abovementioned measures will be controlled by Deputy Prime Minister Avtandil Margiani.

Shevardnadze, Mestia Officials Discuss Situation

LD2112112893 Tbilisi Radio Tbilisi Network in Georgian 0800 GMT 21 Dec 93

[Text] Yesterday, Eduard Shevardnadze, chairman of the Georgian parliament and head of state, held a meeting with senior officials from Mestia rayon, republican ministries and agencies, devoted to the rayon's socioeconomic problems. Addressing the meeting, the Republic's prime minister, Otar Patsatsia, stressed that the Georgian Government is doing everything possible to supply the mountainous rayon of Mestia with flour and fuel and to resume air flights between Tbilisi and Mestia.

The governor of Mestia rayon, Elguja Japaridze, said that the rayon leadership alone could not fight against criminal elements and gangs of bandits operating in the rayon's settlements and along the Mestia-Jvari highway. He said that the number of weapons in the hands of the rayon population is so large that confiscating them is an impossible task for the forces at the disposal of the rayon police. It is stressed that the rayon is suffering from a shortage of fuel and [word indistinct].

The Georgian head of state instructed representatives of law enforcement bodies to restore order on the highways linking Mestia with neighboring rayons during the next 10 days, and to reinforce the rayon police.

Georgian Deputy Prime Minister Irakli Menagharishvili pointed out that a Tbilisi-Mestia humanitarian flight will be organized on (?26) December.

Shevardnadze Weekly Interview 20 Dec

LD2012154893 Tbilisi Radio Tbilisi Network in Georgian 0913 GMT 20 Dec 93

[Interview with State Council Chairman Eduard Shevardnadze by correspondent Nato Oniani; place and date not given—recorded]

[Text] [Oniani] Eduard, last week the issues with regard to credit and finance policy were still at the center of attention. The former prime minister lodged quite serious accusations against you by saying that the IMF had decided to give 200 million dollars to Georgia for the creation of a stabilization fund, if the national bank changed its credit and monetary policy. You had hid this letter so that people would feel feeble and agree to join the CIS.

[Shevardnadze] Good morning. I would answer this question in the following manner: a very serious answer to a flippant accusation.

There was such a letter from the Monetary Fund, if this is the letter in question. Probably it is, as I do not know of any other letter. The Monetary Fund had worked out its terms as to the cases in which Georgia would get specific credits for creating the stabilization fund. If I remember correctly, they were talking about the sum of 60-70 million dollars. It was a whole system of demands, or more precisely, recommendations: the financial sphere, financial relations, legislation, the income and outflow of the budget, settling social expenses, that is, cutting social expenditures, and many others. I repeat, it was a whole system.

As soon as this letter.... [pauses] I could have this letter published. There is nothing secretive about it. It is an ordinary document. It happened several months ago, at the end of the summer, if I am not mistaken. The credit policy was mentioned in this letter, being one of the elements of the IMF's demands.

When this document ended up in my hands .... [pauses] I demanded the document be brought to me. I had asked—ordered—Roman Gotsiridze, these are the approximate words: Study promptly, and start to act. You know that Roman was a deputy prime minister then. This issue is still being studied now.

We have to clear many things with the Monetary Fund, despite the fact that many from the previous cabinet had travelled to Washington. It was probably necessary. Many of them made speeches there and attended various forums. Relations are still not based on a firm, serious, and businesslike basis. I think that I will send my representatives before I go to the United States. I am not ruling out that Mr. Javakhishvili [Georgian National Bank president] or the finance minister or both of them will go there. During my visit in the United States, I will have quite lengthy talks with the IMF authorities about how to cooperate in the future and about which terms to take into consideration. Naturally, the public will be informed about it.

Now, as for how moral Tengiz's [Sigua] speeches are, let listeners and readers judge and discuss it themselves. When a man says: You have driven the country to a crisis, starved the people in order to join the CIS—to gain the basis for this—then bitterness must have clouded his intelligence. I do not know what the matter is with him or what has happened to him. I do not want to dwell on it any more.

As for credit policy, decisions have already been made. Everything has been checked. I held a large session several days ago with the representatives of law enforcement bodies and monitoring systems. I heard the first results of the work carried out by them. Work is being conducted in an intensive manner. Everything will be clarified. Everything will be called its own name and be properly assessed—at the head-of-state level, in parliament, and so on.

[Oniani] There is the feeling in our society that, on the one hand, the talk on the financial and credit policy has been more forceful from the opposition since you began to study the 1992 results. Secondly, the issue of the credit and financial policy has come to the forefront, especially after the fight against criminals, corruption, and the mafia has been stepped up.

Last week, the Interior Ministry forces detained the famous Sviri Brotherhood in Zestafoni. Yesterday, we were told that quite a large group of bandits had been arrested in Kutaisi. The self-cleansing process has even begun in the police. There were several instances last week of either detaining policemen or sacking high officials. The population, which can feel these results, is asking a question: Why was this fight, this relentless fight against these bandits, not started before? One more question: Will the political grouping of the members of these bandit units play any role?

[Shevardnadze] I am going back to the credit policy. More has been done on this level than was required. Without any major investigations, National Bank Chairman Demur Dvalishvili resigned. I accepted his resignation. Control was then set up with the participation of the law-enforcment bodies. Every incident has been exposed—what has been given away, who has taken, if there were grounds for those decisions, and if they were fair. They will be assessed according to the law, from the point of view of the law.

I also gave orders that it was not an altogether lawful act. It is not quite accepted. There are some elements of confidentiality in bank operations; despite that, the results of the investigation .... [pauses] This document has been been photocopied and distributed among every deputy. There was nothing secretive .... [pauses] We have not shrouded it in a tangle of secrecy.

As for the situation concerning the fight with bandit units, it is true. Much has happened recently in this area. You know such an operation cannot be prepared in one day. So, to sum it up, work at the Interior Ministry and other law-enforcement bodies on studying these groups has been carried out for a long period of time. Now these data have merely been realized.

Why did it not happen before? It did not happen before because all our forces were concentrated on the war in Abkhazia. These forces could not have been mobilized against bandit groups. You know that large units of the police and our Armed Forces were busy with problems in west Georgia then. We had other tasks. Therefore, the appropriate attention was not paid to the issue of combating crime. I cannot help mentioning the importance of those actions that took place in west Georgia. The main thing is that Samegrelo has heaved a sigh of relief and so has Georgia.

This is what I meant when I used to talk about our careful attitude toward every region and rayon of our country. Now these processes of improvement have begun, and conditions for a relatively normal life are being created. It gave us a possibility to work in a more organized and intensive manner toward combating crime. I would like to stress once again the active role of the Interior Ministry—its active fight against crime in general and organized crime in particular. Those two operations—you have mentioned the Kutaisi operation, and there are also many others that are not known that I am sure have been planned at the ministry—this speaks for the fact that there are forces in Georgia, and at the Interior Ministry in particular, that can establish order in the country.

As for political forces, many people are worrying about it, and some are taking preliminary precautions and so on, I would put it like this: Political forces must not create bandit formations; if they do, they will answer for it. They must not create armed formations. I would like to assure everyone that everything will happen within the limits of law. Nobody will be able to sidestep from the law. So, those who have not breached the law may remain calm, but those who have done so must take precautions.

[Oniani] You had a meeting with businessmen last week. You said at the meeting that businessmen can smell where to invest. What can foreign businessmen smell here? Or, in other words, has the process of stabilization begun in Georgia? Also, your meeting with businessmen, which was held at the initiative of the Citizens' Union of Georgia, was not accidental. It demonstrates this new political organization's position toward businessmen.

[Shevardnadze] I almost meant it literally when I said that they can smell it, because their strongest interest is in oil. There must be oil somewhere, and they can smell it.

The English are coming to Georgia in the new year. This is a firm with great experience in oil recovery from the North Sea. This is a recognized firm. The Americans are coming too. About two or three days ago, I received a firm that should have begun work earlier, but was unable to do so because of specific circumstances. There are also Australians. All this is about oil and gas exploration. It was decided to build a relatively small oil refinery near Tbilisi, which would have the capacity of about 300,000 or 400,000 tonnes. At the same time, oil recovery will increase in areas around Tbilisi, which will allow us to create a reserve for the emergencies that unfortunately happen here every day. We should create a reserve that would ensure proper lighting and heating and would allow us to eliminate obstacles to the use of aircraft and other emergency transportation.

Australians and Germans are investing millions in communication facilities. It was some time ago that the Siemens firm made a decision to invest 50 million German marks [DM] in developing communication facilities in Georgia. Then there was a tender in which an Australian firm got the upper hand. It will invest 13 million dollars in Georgia. This will not be delayed, and work will start early in the new year.

Communications is the beginning of everything. They understand it well. Talks have resumed regarding Poti, Batumi, and other projects. What was only conceptual in the past is now being dealt with in tangible and concrete steps.

We will have to allocate DM30 million that we are to receive as credit. This work is under way now. Allocation of the Turkish credit is about to finish. Our foreign partners will be involved in all this.

At the same time, you were right to say that the meeting between my colleagues from the Citizens' Union, myself, and businessmen had a symbolic meaning. We decided to set up a business center once a month and to hold meetings in this business center. These meetings will examine problems that are a matter of concern for Georgian business. I said at the meeting that the Georgian economy could emerge from the current situation only though modern business. This process should be supervised, cared for, watched over, and assisted. Extensive assistance should be given to real and honest business.

I can see that an interesting group of people has emerged. It includes young people, as well as experienced specialists in various fields of economics. Business is already developing in Georgia. It is really developing.

[Oniani] Eduard, the crisis of power and engineering in Georgia is so deep that it is not impossible that the future winter may be as difficult as this winter is if we do not take decisive action. Do the authorities or the government have anything, any important plan, for changes in this connection?

[Shevardnadze] Unfortunately, I must say that the plans created earlier by highly qualified experts on developing power and engineering in Georgia have not materialized due to certain reasons. As for the terrible hardships we have endured in connection with the power and engineering crisis, I think that we are reaping the results of the policy carried out for years by the authorities—the previous authorities. We have not been able to break through yet.

We must think seriously. Our measures must be divided in two stages. First, everything that is required must be done today, tomorrow, or the next season. Second, we must work out ideas for the future, which must take shape as plans, and the inclusion of large foreign capital will probably be necessary for the realization of these plans.

I have made a decision in this regard. Work will be finished in about a week or 10 days to set up a state commission, a working group, that is to create approximately a 10-year government program on what the resources of Georgia are and how to use these resources.

I must say that we do not appreciate those huge resources called hydro resources. If we calculate how much of this resource falls in one square kilometer, then Georgia comes first in the world. We have huge riches, and only 12 percent of them are used. According to some people and according to the latest data, we are within the limits of 4 or 5 percent. Before the West took up building and developing nuclear power stations, they had already used 70 to 80 percent of their resources.

How are we to use these resources? It will be quicker if, at first, we build small hydroelectric stations. There are many initiatives here. There is an association, a public view [word indistinct], but it is very interesting. I think that television has also begun interesting work in this respect, but a more systematic and scientific attitude will be needed. A state program will have to be worked out. Large hydroelectric stations must be built while considering all the ecological demands so that the environment is not damaged. This is the first source, a huge and important one—that can come to our aid, provided we work well and cooperate with foreign partners.

Second, it is our coal. We have recently begun to talk seriously about using coal, and we have quite large possibilities here. There are partners and businessmen in Germany and other countries who are interested in this field. A source for financing can be found here.

There are other directions as well. I have told you that oil companies are coming, and I am sure that in about five, six, or seven months—or, more precisely, for the next season—we will have some definite data and results. It is also an important source.

There are also solar energy and subterranean thermal springs, of which Georgia has plenty. I think that a state program must be created for all of this. Then, if our colleagues accept it, I may supervise implementation of this program because coming out of the crisis and entering a normal way of life are out of the question if we do not resolve the issue of power and engineering. These are the prospects and goals we are faced with now.

[Oniani] On a crisis note, the words—debt to Turkmenistan debt—have assumed a different meaning during the crisis period. Whether we talk about this problem or another one, this is like the Sword of Damocles. We have a huge debt to this country. If I am not mistaken, your visit has been planned for this week? A summit meeting, a visit to Turkmenistan, has been planned? What are you expecting from this visit, and will you be able to get assistance to Georgia?

[Shevardnadze] If we exist now, it is thanks to Turkmen gas received by transit through Uzbekistan and Kazakhstan. I must say that we find it more difficult to pay for the transport than for the actual cost of the gas because relations based on a clearing system help us; however, the cost for transport has reached 30 million dollars. We have huge debts to Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan, and Kazakhstan. I cannot tell you how my visit will end with regard to this debt. It will be a major step forward if we agree on payment postponement. Then we must think of something else, either from the IMF, the European Community, or other international organizations. We must think about credits, and cover our debts by credits; otherwise, the whole of the society and the population will find themselves in the most complex crisis. I think that they will take it into consideration.

As for the other side, it is the participation of my colleagues and myself in the summit meeting of the CIS countries in Ashgabat. State leaders, prime ministers, foreign ministers, defense ministers and their experts will meet there. We will work two days, to be more precise. Ministers will work on the third day as well. I am going there with definite hopes. The draft resolutions that I have received address the economic sphere and relations in the military field primarily. In the military field, the course is more liberal and is acceptable, from what I have read so far.

As for the economy, there is quite a large portfolio of very important issues. I do not want to announce debates on these issues. I had a very large meeting yesterday with the participation of all interested ministries and departments. We arrived at the conclusion that the main terms stated in these documents correspond and answer our interests. Having joined the CIS, I have studied carefully all statutory documents and economic relations that will be raised and that suit us, if such attitudes were to be taken.

[Oniani] Eduard, your decree on overcoming the crisis was published last week. Also last week, the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development conferred on Georgia the status of a developing country. However, in a previous interview you said there had been a certain degree of misunderstanding in this respect. What does this mean for Georgia, and what is the interrelationship between these two events?

[Shevardnadze] The decree says that the preparation of an anti-crisis program must be concluded. The Cabinet of Ministers, as well as the Economy Ministry and other ministries and agencies, have been working on this for a long time. Certain ideas have been formulated. However, this is not enough. I have studied some documents, and I believe that these ideas require serious correction, improvement, and arrangement into a system. The work is to be completed by 20 January, or by the end of January at the latest. The result will then assume some form. It may be a document, address, or report by the head of state, or a Cabinet of Minister's report, which will be made public. I think that parliament will take interest in this document.

At the same time, I think that it is by no means accidental that the preparation of this document coincided with the conferment on Georgia of the status of a developing nation. I must say that—if used with knowledge and proper persistence—this status may resolve many issues. When we prepare anti-crisis programs—I am saying programs, because there will be many programs that will cover various spheres—this status will give us an opportunity to look for real sources to finance these programs, sources that are more real than before.

Developed countries—if I am not wrong, there are 24 such countries that decide on conferring on a country the status of a developing nation—have part of their budgets earmarked for rendering assistance to developing countries. This is enshrined in their budgets. At the same time, in these countries, (?Western) countries, there are great benefits for banks, the private sector, and private businesses, as well as the individual businessmen who invest in developing countries. The state encourages the flow of capital into developing countries. I have a certain degree of hope about this and think that the preparation of the programs and the emergence of new sources to finance them will go well together.

[Oniani] A well-known U.S. politician, Zbigniew Brzezinski, visited Georgia last week. The visit—which came after the Russian elections, Georgia's entry into the CIS, and the stabilization of the situation in western Georgia—must not have had the single purpose of attending the inauguration of the East-West International Relations Center.

[Shevardnadze] It is natural that Brzezinski was interested in a wide range of issues. He is one of the far-seeing politicians of modern times, and it is natural that he was interested. Not only was he interested, but the Administration and the (?American public) are also interested in what is happening in the former Soviet Union. They are interested in how this recognized expert and scientist would see these events and what his conclusions would be. He had to travel to do this. As you know, he also visited other countries. He was due to conclude his visit to Ukraine today. Georgia was one of the important stopovers on his itinerary.

I think that Brzezinski became convinced that many things could be seen more clearly from Georgia's vantage point then from other capitals. Very interesting talks were held here. I must say that I drew moral satisfaction from the contact with a politician of a very high intellect. I must also say that we turned out to have similar positions on major developments within the former Soviet Union and elsewhere, including events in Georgia. I discovered many interesting things during these meetings.

I am satisfied that a seminar was held at the new East-West Relations Center. [words indistinct] I think that Mr. Brzezinski heard many interesting things and that our audience also had a very good lesson [words indistinct]. I believe it was a good and useful event.

[Oniani] Last, you probably already know that there are rumors alleging your three-month or, if you like, six-month visit to either the United States or Germany for treatment, and you are never coming back.

At your staff's office, they (?gave) me information that since the day of your arrival, you have spent 49 days in Abkhazia, 16 days in west Georgia, and visited Samachablo six times. Several grateful people have turned up who decided that Shevardnadze must take a holiday.

[Shevardnadze] You must have summed it up already. I have not thought about it, but all the days off and the sick leave I was entitled to have been used. [laughs]

Now, on a more serious note, I really must go abroad. I have postponed several visits—to Turkey, Israel, France, the United States of America, and [word indistinct]. These are not entertaining visits. We have lost a lot by postponing these visits, from the point of view of getting investments and getting humanitarian aid [words indistinct]. Therefore, it is important to go, but not for six or three months [laughs] [words indistinct]

Once again, a serious remark: I do not know, but it seems that some people have plenty of time and do not know what to spend it on. Rumors are born in idleness. I would like as few rumors—and especially malicious ones—in our country as possible.

[Oniani] Thank you very much for the interview.

Benelux Trade Representation Opened in Antwerp

LD2012182393 Tbilisi Radio Tbilisi Network in Georgian 1600 GMT 20 Dec 93

[Text] As decreed by the Georgian Cabinet of Ministers, a Georgian trade representation has been established in the city of Antwerp. It has the aim of extending state and economic relations between the Republic of Georgia and Belgium, the Netherlands, and Luxembourg.

Estonia

Moscow Only Consulate To Issue Visas

LD2112112993 Tallinn Radio Tallinn Network in Estonian 1000 GMT 21 Dec 93

[Text] From 1 Jan 1994, the Estonian Consulate in St. Petersburg will no longer be open to the public for the issue of entry visas to Estonia. This was reported to ETA [Estonian Telegraph Agency] by the Estonian Foreign Ministry's press service. Consular work in St. Petersburg will be suspended because the lease on the temporary premises in St. Petersburg will expire. Visas will continue to be issued once the consulate acquires permanent premises. The Estonian Foreign Ministry is hoping for positive results soon in the talks on the matter, which are currently being held.

Until then the only place in Russia where Estonian visas are issued is the consular section of the Estonian Embassy in Moscow. Of CIS countries, visas are also issued in the Estonian Embassy in Kiev. The Foreign Ministry is making preparations for the opening of a consulate in Pskov.

New Minister Says 'Rapid Changes' 'Impossible'

WS2112094293 Tallinn ETA NEWS BULLETIN in English 0901 GMT 20 Dec 93

[From 20 December PAEVALEHT, p 1]

[Text] Monday, December 20—Interior Minister Heiki Arike stressed that the Interior Ministry made great progress under Lagle Parek's rule. The Interior Minister is not a police minister, although the efficiency of the minister's work is largely judged according to the work of the police, Arike said. He added that rapid changes would be impossible to achieve and they would be of questionable efficiency anyway. Arike described his policy as returning the feeling of security to the ministry staff, which was shaken by the replacement of the minister. The Asso Kommer affair had caused an unnatural situation and a crisis where every police official has to consider the public impact of his activities.

Arike categorically denied any ideological conflict between the police and the Defence League. He stressed that the police officers guilty of brutality will be punished and added that the Defence League members, who have not violated the law, have no reason to fear the police.

Assembly Meeting on Retired Military Canceled

WS2112094193 Tallinn ETA NEWS BULLETIN in English 0901 GMT 20 Dec 93

[From 20 December RAHVA HAAL, PAEVALEHT, p 1,3]

[Text] Monday, December 20—The Russian Assembly session scheduled for Saturday [18 December] was cancelled for lack of participants. Only 19 out of 39 members showed up, the delegations from Narva and Kohtla-Jarve, who had initiated the session, were missing. The session was to have discussed the situation of the retired military, the results of the local elections and the forming of an Assembly regional section in northeastern Estonia. A discussion on the political situation and the Russians' problems in Estonia was held instead. Chairman Nikolay Yugantsev claimed that the Russian election results have also changed the situation in Estonia. He stressed that the best guarantee for Estonia's security is internal stability. Yugantsev added that the results of the local elections were satisfactory for the Assembly and that their attitude is entirely pragmatic.

The problems of the retired military are to be discussed at a separate session.

Latvia

Parliament Speaker Discusses Visit to France

LD2012174893 Riga Radio Riga Network in Latvian 1400 GMT 20 Dec 93

[Text] A Latvian delegation has returned for Christmas from an official visit to France. A news conference was held at the Saeima today to report on the course of the visit. Parliamentary Speaker Anatolijs Gorbunovs was telling reporters about political aspects of the visit. Let us listen.

[Begin Gorbunovs recording] We went to France to renew to a certain extent, and develop and strengthen cooperation with the French National Assembly and the Senate. As is known, the election to the National Assembly has taken place in France and right-wing parties came to power. It should be said that the attitude toward Latvia, I could compare, I think it has changed for the better, because the right-wing parties—their deputies had already been members of the French group for the support of Latvia and had been actively working in it before. And this time we also met in commissions the heads of these commissions, who come from those parties—they considered it particularly necessary to underline that they understand very well Latvia's aspirations for strengthening real independence, for statehood, national identity, the situation with the Latvians and all the rest, that these issues are very close to them and therefore they felt honored and glad to meet us and discuss these issues.

We have acquainted ourselves with the legislation of the National Assembly and its functioning. We met in commissions and they had most of the questions; we saw very many different questions in the work of the National Assembly, and that seemed to us very interesting, and they asked many questions about the work of our Saeima.

I will perhaps tell you briefly about the main political points which we see in our internal and foreign policy here in Latvia and which we also wanted to make known in France, both to deputies and to the presidents of the National Assembly and the Senate. Namely, there are two issues. The first one is the issue of the withdrawal of the Russian army and the conclusion of a corresponding agreement, and the second is the issue of citizenship.

On the withdrawal of the Russian army, we once again stressed the idea, which is already known to all here in Latvia, that the member states of the CSCE have passed a resolution on the complete and speedy withdrawal of the Russian army and that this resolution is not being automatically complied with, and if there is no control on the part of France and other western countries, then the Russian side may put forward proposals which may considerably complicate the situation. This can already be seen today in the case of the Skrunda radar.

As far as the citizenship issue is concerned, we also set forth all the arguments which the people in Latvia have recently held and still hold, to the effect that there is not only the problem of the Russian minority in Latvia; we also have the problem of the survival of the Latvian nation, and if we speak further about security and cooperation in Europe, then this issue should be considered in such a context. [end recording]

Popular Front Stresses National Survival

WS2012154593 Tallinn BNS in English 1312 GMT 20 Dec 93

[Text] Riga, Dec 20, BNS—The Latvian Popular Front primarily wants to create the essential conditions for the survival of the Latvian nation and restore the national state, its board member Juris Kokins said in the organization's 6th congress Saturday [18 December].

The congress adopted several resolutions expressing the group's wish for "Latvian Latvia," humane decolonization and complete deoccupation of their country. The front also supports measures to curb crime, combat corruption and control monopolies.

The organization sharply criticized the ruling Latvia's Way- Farmers' Union coalition for aggravating the country's economic crisis.

The front hopes to implement its own goals by forming a national conservative alliance with the National Independance Movement, said Popular Front's Chairman Uldis Augstkalns.

The alliance would coordinate the political activities by its members in a bid to form a common platform and a joint list for the local election. "The people wait for the national conservative forces to unite," said Augstkalns.

The front could also cooperate with Green Party and the Christian Democrats Union, said speakers in the congress. The speakers blamed the front's continued bad luck on "treason by several of its members," who left the Popular Front to join the influential Latvia's Way Party before the June parliament election.

Augstkalns mentioned the front's poor public relations as another reason for its political failure. "The media concentrate on parties that are represented in the parliament," he said.

The situation could be improved by a national conservative newspaper, Augstkalns suggested.

The question of "to be or not to be" for the Latvian Popular Front may be answered in the positive, Augstkalns said, because its membership is still hopeful 1,608.

The front, however, does not plan to transform itself into a party yet because "it is not enough to call oneself a party," said Augstkalns. The members have to improve their political consciousness first, he added.

Lithuania

Political Issues Viewed by Landsbergis, Jursenas

LD2012162693 Vilnius Radio Vilnius Network in Lithuanian 1000 GMT 20 Dec 93

[Excerpts] Two news conferences were held in the Lithuanian Seimas today. The internal situation in Lithuania after the elections in Russia and relations with Poland were discussed. Here is our correspondent, Audrius Baciulis, with his report from the parliament studio:

[Baciulis] [Vytautas Landsbergis] The leader of the Seimas opposition, said that the results of the elections in Russia revealed the true political face of that state. Vytautas Landsbergis also said that a debate should be held by the Lithuanian political forces on the issue of how and which direction Lithuanian foreign policy should take now.

According to him the dismissal of the state negotiation delegation with Russia was the greatest mistake made by the Lithuanian Democratic Labor party. However, at the same time Vytautas Landsbergis admitted that there is enough shortsightedness in the West concerning relations with Russia. He stressed that the Western states do not do what they should be doing in a situation such as this. Perhaps there is no need to restart the Star Wars program immediately, however, the Western leaders should hold consultations behind closed doors on what actions the world should take if a new Hitler with nuclear weapons emerges. However, he said that the West needs a leader and that very strong Munich-type feelings prevail there at present. [passage omitted]

The statement by the three Baltic presidents was seen by him as evasive and that nothing was said in it about the expansion of NATO. [sentence as heard] One could expect benefits from the NATO initiative Partnership for Peace only in this case if Lithuania while, concluding the agreement with NATO, stops looking over its shoulder to the East, Vytautas Landsbergis said.

Ceslovas Jursenas, chairman of the Lithuanian Seimas, spoke about the objectives and the results of his visit to Poland.

[Begin Jursenas recording] [Passage indistinct] I said repeatedly that if you say that we need a treaty and I, I mean we, say also that we need a treaty, then where are the obstacles which impede it? Let us start looking into the debatable issues one by one and either we resolve these issues or give them up because the signing of the treaty cannot be postponed any longer. [passage omitted] [end recording]

However, Ceslovas Jursenas did not agree with the proposal of the Polish side to exclude from the treaty the article which deals with the Zeligowski aggression. He told the Polish politicians that for Lithuania this issue was not a 200-years-old matter but a two or three-years-old matter. This is an issue of Lithuania's integrity. Although, according to Ceslovas Jursenas, the statement did not evoke enthusiasm on the Polish side, it was listened to with full attention. [passage omitted]

Further on Landsbergis' Comments

LD2012170293 Vilnius Radio Vilnius Network in Lithuanian 1200 GMT 20 Dec 93

[Text] Previous statements to the effect that the foreign policy pursued by the present government, first of all toward the east, is shortsighted, were reiterated again by Lithuanian Seimas Opposition Leader Vytautas Landsbergis at a news conference this morning. Now we can state that it has failed, Vytautas Landsbergis stressed.

A statement by Vytautas Landsbergis disseminated to the journalists says that for almost a year and a half the illusion has been spread that thanks to the Lithuanian Democratic Labor Party [LDLP], good things will come from Russia. Warnings concerning the danger were rejected and ridiculed, and instead of looking for wider support in society and contacts with other Lithuanian political parties the LDLP has isolated itself more and more and shut itself up in [words indistinct]. Now these illusions have failed, the leader of the opposition says in his statement.

The elections in Russia have revealed the true face of Russia, Vytautas Landsbergis said. The former [words indistinct] foreign policy, refined and masked by diplomatic phrases, is now openly declared by Vladimir Zhirinovskiy.

However, the belated and brief statement issued by the Lithuanian Ministry of Foreign Affairs speaks only about concern. No decision, determination, and search for Lithuania's security can be seen in it.

Vytautas Landsbergis criticized the statement made by the three Baltic leaders concerning cooperation with NATO. There is nothing new in it, he said. The idea of Partnership for Peace supported at the meeting of the Baltic presidents essentially belongs to Andrey Kozyrev. Its objective is to set aside the issue of NATO membership; however, according to Vytautas Landsbergis, Lithuania could even make use of the idea if the minister of foreign affairs did not send the draft to Moscow for coordination.

Russia is becoming increasingly threatening, Vytautas Landsbergis stressed in conclusion. However, there is no leader in the west who will unite them against the danger which has emerged. This is only self-deception.

Ministry's Stand on Russian Policies Criticized

WS2112084793 Vilnius RESPUBLIKA in Lithuanian 3 Dec 93 No. 234 p 4

[Editorial: "We Are Born Peace Keepers..."]

[Text] Paraphrasing the first line of the national song written by J. Zauerwein ["we are born Lithuanians"], we could propose that leaders of the Russian Defense and Foreign Ministries use it instead of a morning greeting. Recently, officials of neighboring countries have actively tried to prove on all levels to the world community that peace is impossible without Russia's fist. It is this fist alone that can decide where, when, and how it can "assist" in dealing with domestic problems or mythological external aggressors.

Formerly disagreeing ministers, P. Grachev and A. Kozyrev are singing the same tune today in surprising unison—only Russia can safeguard peace and order on the territory of the former USSR. It is completely unimportant that this country has a different name today. Nor it is important that some of them had found themselves in the claws of the USSR regardless of their will. While on a visit to Switzerland, soldier-like and candid Minister P. Grachev explained that the statement of Russia's military doctrine about its right to bring the Army into neighboring countries in the event that the latter threaten Russia with aggression is not so drastic. The minister expounded that "states—members of the CSCE—should not feel concerned about some occupation. We will bring in our Army only on a country's request."

Such a statement is unlikely to let Russia's neighbors sleep peacefully. There are few countries around Russia that are not CSCE members. However, thousands of Lithuanian people remember quite well how the tanks of the big neighbor roared into our country "on the agreement between both states." We still remember how this ended and with whom the actual agreement was reached.

True, this time Russia is trying to obtain the CSCE mandate for the role of the "peace gendarme." Then, even aggression could be called friendly assistance. Trying to clearly understand Russia's position, our correspondents have tried to speak to leaders of its Foreign Ministry in Moscow. A diplomat who agreed to talk with us did not identify himself and explained by stating: "You are putting too much emphasis on specific issues. Russia wishes to suppress conflicts by reasonable methods. It is proposing a system for settling conflicts." Who would guarantee, however, that the "aggressive nationalism," which is so often mentioned by Minister A. Kozyrev, will not be interpreted as an "international conflict," which Russia would be eager to suppress?

However, Lithuanian diplomacy is no less obscure. While speaking in Rome, Foreign Minister P. Gylys "mentioned the so-called problems of the participation of third parties in conflicts related to peacekeeping actions, which in the CSCE context are associated with Russia's desire to obtain a mandate for its operations on the territory of the former USSR." I am quoting nothing but the Defense Ministry press report. According to BNS, the Estonian foreign minister was much more earnest when stating that "Estonia does not agree with Russia's role as a peacekeeping force within the CIS approaches." Lithuanian Defense Minister L. Linkevicius expressed the desire to comment on Estonia's position: "One should assess one's geopolitical situation in a sober manner; therefore, we have our own position and we express it the way it is." The situation in Lithuania is becoming similar to that in Russia: Two key ministers supplement each other, but one cannot understand later who is who. In Rome, Estonia's position was firmly backed by Latvia and Ukraine.

Minister A. Kozyrev is addressing the NATO Assembly today, where he intends to set forth Russia's plans about turning NATO, the European Union, and Russia into an integral system for safeguarding peace. This is in line with the current principle of Russian foreign policy, when the role of the world is restricted to a vassal's commitments in the shadow of the overlord. It is unknown what the Lithuanian foreign minister will say (if he speaks at all). However, we are only observers in the European Union. Our statesmen claim that our stand on Russia's military doctrine is critical. No official opinion has been voiced yet, although there has been much and varied talk. Nor do we know anything about Lithuania's official reaction to the statements by Y. Primakov, head of the Russian foreign intelligence service. The world has commented on them quite amply. Recalling the favorite idea of the presidential office about the "geopolitical situation," we are, probably, waiting for responses from Latvia, Estonia, or the United States. Russia will undoubtedly strengthen its geopolitical situation, maybe also at Lithuania's expense. It was the case once. Will it be repeated again?

Poll on Baltic Presidents Favors Ulmanis

WS2012154293 Tallinn BNS in English 1034 GMT 20 Dec 93

[Text] Vilnius, Dec 20, BNS—Out of three presidents of the Baltic states Latvian President Guntis Ulmanis enjoys the greatest confidence among the population. Results of the opinion poll conducted this November by the republican centers of public opinion in Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia testify to this fact (on Saturday [18 December] they were published in the Lithuanian newspaper LIETUVOS RYTAS).

According to the opinion poll, 75 percent of Latvian citizens trust Guntis Ulmanis and 8 percent do not give credence to him.

Head of the Lithuanian state Algirdas Brazauskas occupies the second place, correspondingly 60 percent and 34 percent of Lithuanian citizens.

Results of the questionnaire show that 44 percent of Estonians trust President Lennart Meri and 37 percent do not trust him.

German Firm To Supply Nuclear Containers

WS2112110893 Vilnius ELTA NEWS BULLETIN in English 2039 GMT 20 Dec 93

[From ELTA "NEWS BULLETIN" No. 398]

[Text] Vilnius, Dec 20, ELTA - Leaders of Ignalina nuclear power plant and German company "GNB" signed a contract on the supply of 60 containers to store nuclear fuel used in RBMK-1500 type reactors, director-general of Ignalina plant Viktor Shevaldin told ELTA on Monday [20 December].

The containers will be made in Germany and brought to Lithuania a year after the signing of the contract. They will be sent in separate cargoes within 15 months. Shevaldin said the containers belong to the famous "Castor" group whose production corresponds with strict technological standards. They are very safe and used in the world for 20 years. Such containers are used in Finland, France, Germany, Britain, Russia, Switzerland, U.S.A., Sweden, etc.

"GNB" is a specialized company producing containers for storage of used nuclear fuel.

Shevaldin also said the international competition to arrange a project of a storage was won by a Swedish company "SKB". The company is solving questions of storage of nuclear fuel and nuclear waste. He said it would be the first dry interim storage of a nuclear fuel used in RBMK-type reactors.

Vilnius Radio Foreign Broadcasts To Cease 30 Dec

LD2112103093

[Editorial Report] Vilnius Radio Vilnius in English at 2230 GMT on 20 December carries a poorly heard one-minute report by an unidentified announcer who says: "Lithuania has no shortwave transmitters of its own, while those rented (?out) by Russian communications services are becoming more expensive (?with every month). Under conditions currently raised by Russia, daily half- hour broadcasts of Radio Vilnius to North America would cost 200,000 litas, which is about $50,000 per year. Mr. Laimonas Tapinas, director general of Lithuanian Radio and Television, says the network does not possess this sum of money. The whole of next year's budget of the organization will be swallowed up by salaries for the staff. Nevertheless, Radio Vilnius English-language programs will be transmitted at 2000 utc on the same frequencies. Radio Vilnius is going to say its final goodbye to its listeners on 29 and 30 December of this year, so tune in then to Radio Vilnius for the last time."

The report ends with quotes by political figures on the consequences of this action.